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ABSTRACT

This document, a handbook for teaching peace education, is for use as part of a carefully planned strategy to achieve both the substantive and normative goals of peace education. Objectives include knowledge of the causes of violence and injustice and the possibilities of transcending them and attitudes favoring the behavioral and structural changes such transcendence will require. The handbook provides a counterbalance to most mainstream curricula that assume the inevitability of most political violence and irreversibility of much social injustice. Both peace and justice are attainable goals, according to the handbook, as long as people develop peace related skills and knowledge and faith in the ability to enact change. New to the latest edition of the handbook are: (1) extensive case studies; (2) numerous stories about individuals, particularly young people; (3) expanded action suggestions; (4) an expanded peace section; (5) multiple perspectives on issues raised; and (6) the elimination of religiously oriented activities. Chapters address such subjects as world hunger, global poverty, global interdependence, foreign policy, and war and the military. The handbook includes a foreword, a preface, notes on how to use the book, a play script, and a list of helpful organizations. (SG)

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EDUCATING FOR PEACE AND JUSTICE:

GLOBAL DIMENSIONS

ED 405 233

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EDUCATING FOR PEACE AND JUSTICE:

GLOBAL DIMENSIONS

By

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and other contributors

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This adaptation, by Nanette Ford, of the symbol from the United Nations' World Food Conference (November, 1974) points out three goals to us - food, peace, and interdependence. The wheat is the promise of food, a potential abundance that we must work to convert into bread for all. And not just bread, but bread and justice, global economic justice. It is a call for this conversion. THe encircling olive branches are a sign of peace, peace understood as "shalom", the fullness for human=development. "If you want peace, work for justice" as one world citizen put it. And again, "Development is the new name for peace." Finally, the globe is a call to global interdependence, to live as sisters and brothers with all peoples and with the earth itself.

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FOREWORD

Nothing reveals seriousness of purpose and authentic commitment to articulated values so fully as the tools and strategies the committed devise to achieve their purposes. This manual, EDUCATING FOR PEACE AND JUSTICE, is a well-honed tool to be used in a carefully planned strategy to achieve both the substantive and normative goals of peace education:

1) knowledge both of the causes of violence and injustice and of the possibilities for transcending them, and

2) attitudes favoring the behavioral and structural changes this transcendence will require.

At once globally comprehensive in scope and richly detailed with concrete examples and case material, this volume comprises a uniquely effective mechanism to enable educators committed to these purposes to fulfill them. It provides a means to achieve the urgently needed counter balance to most mainstream curricula which assume the inevitability of most political violence and the irreversibility of much social injustice.

EDUCATING FOR PEACE AND JUSTICE wastes no effort on persuading educators that peace education is necessary. It proceeds from the fundamental assumption that both peace and justice are humanly attainable goals. The primary requirements for their attainment are the development of peace-related skills and knowledge and the engendering of a robust faith in the capacity of human beings to enact structural and behavioral change.

This manual is a practical tool imbedded in a hopeful strategy. It should prove useful to all peace educators.

Ms. Betty Reardon
Peace Education Program
Teachers College
Columbia University

PREFACE TO THE 7TH EDITION

It has been three years since we last revised this teachers manual. In addition to updating the statistics, resources, and some of the activities for each unit, we have made a number of significant additions and changes, so that approximately half of this volume is new. The major additions and changes are:

1. Extensive case studies. The lengthy case study on Nicaragua pulls together all the issues addressed in the first four units and offers a unique and specific way to apply the data, make judgments, and act on these judgments. The shorter case studies on the Philippines and on El Salvador and the General Foods Corporation provide specific illustrations of the data, theory and action possibilities for the "US Foreign Policy" and "Global Poverty and Development" units respectively. The case study on nonviolence -- "The Tracks Campaign" -- presents a specific action possibility in the "War and Alternatives" unit.

2. Numerous stories. Both as a way of concretizing the concepts and data and of touching the imaginations and hearts of students and hopefully motivating them to more courageous action, we have added a number of stories, including several about young people. New stories include personal accounts of teenage Nicaraguan literacy workers and older coffee workers in Nicaragua, El Salvador, and Guatemala; a Filipino artisan and former political prisoner; a poor Peruvian woman organizer; two US defense workers and the moral dilemmas and decisions they have faced; and a 10-page readers' theatre version of the story of Sadako Sasaki (SADAKO AND THE THOUSAND PAPER CRANES).

3. Expanded action suggestions. While previous editions have consistently stressed the action component of education for peace and justice (EPJ: see the "Methodology" section below) and all the units incorporate this dimension, we have added a wider variety of action possibilities, especially for younger students and particularly in the units on "Global Interdependence", "US-USSR Relations", and "War and Alternatives". At the end of the "War and Alternatives" unit, we also offer a process for helping students make appropriate decisions about the many action possibilities presented to them in this volume.

4. Expanded peace section, especially for elementary and junior high. The most significant changes in this volume, other than the case studies, are in the last two units. We have incorporated many of the insights of other peace educators over the past few years as well as our own, as concern over the nuclear arms race has escalated, with a corresponding explosion of educational resources in this area. Part of the expansion of the "US-USSR Relations" and "War and Alternatives" units has been activities and action suggestions for elementary and junior high students, complementing the extensive sections for teachers of these students in the "Hunger" and "Global Interdependence" units, thus making the entire volume much more appropriate for these age levels than previous editions.

5. Multiple perspectives. While we do not claim to have presented every side on every issue, we have greatly expanded the number of "point-counterpoint" and multiple perspectives examples in this volume. There are two point-counterpoint examples in the case study on Nicaragua -- on US policy and on claims of religious persecution by the Nicaraguan government; one on the activities of the General Foods Corporation in the case study on El Salvador; and one on the Nuclear Freeze campaign. Places where we present multiple

perspectives include three perspectives on US foreign policy in general, three perspectives on US military aid to the Philippines, multiple views of Soviet policies and of alternatives to war, and two different moral choices made by long-time US defense workers. The second point-counterpoint in the case study on Nicaragua offers a process for evaluating multiple perspectives and particularly for deciding who to believe. You might refer to the criteria presented there for all the multiple perspectives examples.

6. Fully appropriate for public education. While the 6th edition of this manual divided it into four separate volumes, with Volume III explicitly for religious educators, this GLOBAL DIMENSIONS volume still contained a number of religiously oriented activities and readings. Those have been eliminated in this 7th edition and relocated in Volume III on RELIGIOUS DIMENSIONS. Those religiously based organizations that continue to be listed here -- in the "Special Resources" section of some units and in the "Helpful Organizations" at the end -- are listed because they also produce resources and/or provide information and action suggestions that are appropriate to non-religious groups.

Acknowledgements

While many teachers, researchers, and activists throughout the US and Canada have contributed in some way to this volume, special thanks must go to Diane Wolff for her teaching suggestions in the "Hunger" and "Global Poverty and Development" units; to the Institute for Food and Development Policy for their help on "Hunger" unit; to Bernadette Sieving for suggestions on several units; to David McFadden for his suggestions and resources on the economic conversion section of the "Military and US Life" unit; to Bob and Janet Aldridge and Ray Oliver for sharing their personal stories; to Monica Trikna and Luanne Schinzel for the K-6 section of "Global Interdependence"; to Kathy Spaar for the case study on the Nuclear Freeze campaign, to Mary Lee Benner for the case study on non-violence, and to Mary Ducey and Mark Koke for the "World War Game", all in the unit on "War and Alternatives"; to Sharon McCormick for most of the readers theatre version of "Sadako"; and especially to Sue Williams who completely rewrote the unit on "US-USSR Relations" and took responsibility for the design and to Carol Dismuke for the typing of this volume.

HOW TO USE THIS MANUAL

A. General Directions

1. "A Methodology for EPJ"

Read this introductory section carefully for general teaching suggestions before deciding which components of this volume to put together for your course/program. Then we suggest returning to these methodological reflections several times during the course to see how you are doing.

2. General format

Each unit begins with an outline of the content, some "Teacher Directions" on how to teach that unit to specific age groups, and "Special Resources" (in addition to the ones identified within the unit note: the list of "Helpful Organizations" at the end of the volume gives addresses for those mentioned more than once in the text, where the address is not given; for organizations mentioned only once, their address is given in the text). Each unit focuses on one theme, presents several key concepts on that theme, a variety of teaching activities for communicating each concept, some action possibilities around the theme, and one or more short student readings and often a longer reading or two for older students and/or teacher background.

3. Basic structure of the themes

This volume is essentially composed of two parts, with the first two units addressing the issues of global justice and the last three units focusing on the issue of world peace. The third and fourth units might be considered transitional. The third, on "Global Interdependence", with its emphasis on personal action possibilities, is the culmination of the section on global justice. With its emphasis on developing a global perspective, that we are one human family, it also serves as a framework or introduction to the "peace" half of the manual. The fourth unit, on "US Foreign Policy", provides more of a political analysis of both the justice and peace issues and offers political action possibilities, particularly through the Philippine and Nicaraguan case studies.

4. Which units should I use?

Ideally, both the justice and the peace issues should be included in any global or peace education course. How much of each area you can cover depends on who you are teaching and how much time you have. Section B below gives directions for specific age groups. We put the justice section first because we believe it is essential for students to see the connections between justice and peace and the truth of the statement "If you want peace, work for justice". Within the justice section, we put the unit on "Hunger" first because students of all ages can understand the need (and right) for food and because the unit begins with some "sensitizing activities" that draw students into the study in more of an experiential way. But this volume need not be used from beginning to end. You can select those units (or sections of units) that integrate best with your existing course (the unit outlines help in this selection) or you can use this volume as the basis for a whole course.

5. Which activities and readings should I use?

Once again, it depends on the age group and the time available. To identify which activities within a unit are appropriate to your age group -- with the exceptions of the units on "Global Interdependence" and "War and Alternatives" where special whole sections for K-6 are included -- you need to read the "Teacher Directions" for the unit and then read over the various possibilities presented with each concept and select and/or adapt those that seem most appropriate for your own situation. While the activities often mention those age groups for whom we think they are most appropriate, we do not want to restrict your creativity in using or adapting them to different age groups. The student readings for each unit are found at the end of the unit. Many are one or two pages long and some are appropriate for younger students as well as older ones. The longer readings are both for older students and for teachers as background for teaching the key concepts to students of all ages. Again, which ones you use depends on the reading ability of your students.

6. Do I need the other volumes of this manual?

If you want to include in your peace and justice course any of the national issues covered in Volume I (see outline below), you should get that volume. But for teachers who want to focus solely on global justice and peace issues, we have tried to make this volume as self-contained as possible, particularly for teachers in public education settings. Most of the cross references are to other sections of this volume. But there are several places where Volume I and III would be helpful supplements. If you want to expand the units on world hunger and poverty to include their local or national dimensions, then the units on "Poverty", "The Elderly", and "Racism" in Volume I would be important. Also, the unit on "Advertising" in Volume I adds another dimension to the "Hunger" unit in this volume. If you want to expand the unit on "War and Alternatives" here to include non-violent conflict resolution at all levels -- interpersonal through international -- then the unit on "Non-violent Conflict Resolution" in Volume I would be helpful. If you want to help young people make a conscientious decision about registration for the draft and military service (as part of the unit on "The Military and US Life"), you have a lengthy process provided in the "Peace and War" unit in Volume III, where there is also an excellent unit on "Today's Peacemakers" offering a wide variety of resources on 19 contemporary peacemakers.

Volume I: NATIONAL DIMENSIONS

"Nonviolent Conflict Resolution"
"Institutional Violence"
"Peace and Justice in Schools"
"Peace, Justice, and the Law"
"Poverty in the US"
"Advertising"
"Older People"
"Disabled People"
"Sexism"
"Racism"
"Multicultural Education"

Volume III: RELIGIOUS DIMENSIONS

"Today's Peacemakers"
"The Meaning of Peace and Justice"
"The Prophets: Yesterday and Today"
"Gospel-Culture Contrasts"
"Peace and War"
"Service Programs"
APPENDICES
-- Roman Catholic Document Summaries
-- Protestant Document Statements
-- A Spirituality of Peace & Justice

For religious educators, we would strongly recommend using Volume III in conjunction with this volume (as well as with Volume I if you are also using it). Volume III provides the religious dimensions of these global issues and several units that would be excellent preliminary ones to the issue-oriented units in this volume. Further, the "Service" unit in Volume III provides directions and models for setting up on-going programs for a school or church. In addition, the appendix with various church statements on peace and justice and a spirituality of peace and justice makes it a valuable addition to any religiously based study of peace and justice issues.

B. Directions for Specific Age Groups

1. Elementary teachers

With the additions noted in the Preface above (#2, #3, #4), this edition is much more helpful to elementary teachers than previous editions. If you start with the global justice issue, as we suggest, you should consider these two options:

-- Do the "Hunger" unit first, following the "Teacher Directions" presented there, followed by section I of the unit on "Global Poverty and Development". The preliminary activities at the beginning of that section I might even precede the "Hunger" unit, since they help students get in touch with their own feelings and experiences with poverty/hunger. "Global Interdependence: K-6", with its emphasis on action, and parts of the case study on Nicaragua, especially the children's projects, could provide the conclusion to this part of your study; or

-- Start with the unit on "Global Interdependence: K-6" because its five basic concepts (differences, oneness, systems, responsibility, and interdependence with the earth) have explicit application in the unit to the classroom and local community as well as the global community. Then go to "Hunger" and section I in "Global Poverty". This would allow you to begin the study of global justice and then peace at levels closer to students' own experience and then move to the global level.

In terms of teaching the peace issue, as noted above, the unit on "Global Interdependence" provides the opportunity to develop more of a global perspective as essential preparation for considering world peace. We recommend as the next step the K-6 section of "War and Alternatives". This would be followed by either another part of the "War and Alternatives" unit for older middle grade students or those parts of the unit on "US-USSR Relations" that are identified as appropriate for elementary students. The children's projects in the case study on Nicaragua provide a unique opportunity for children to see and respond to children as victims of war and thus could also be used here as a fitting conclusion.

As noted in the "Teacher Directions" in these units, we highly recommend supplementing this volume with two much smaller teachers guidebooks, GLOBAL FAMILY PUPPETS and PUPPETS FOR PEACE. These not only provide additional and extremely engaging teaching activities on hunger, global interdependence, and peace, but they also link these issues with multicultural education and racism and nonviolent conflict resolution on the interpersonal as well as international levels for elementary students. For elementary teachers, they would serve some of the same purposes as Volume I of this manual. Videotapes of the skits and chants in these guidebooks, followed by discussion with teachers on how they can use the participatory puppetry methodology, are also available from our Institute.

2. Junior and senior high teachers:It is to you that this volume is primarily addressed.There are activities within most sections of all the units that are appropriate for the junior high level, with the exception of most of the unit on "US Foreign Policy". Read the "Teacher Directions" with each unit for specific suggestions. As already noted in #4 and #5 above, how much of this volume you teach depends mostly on time. If you want to include both the justice and peace dimensions, we would suggest following the sequence of units as presented here.

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Teachers of younger high school students should follow the directions for both junior and senior high students, adapting activities to your specific situation. Teachers of older senior high students can use most of the activities in this volume and the longer readings presented with each unit. The key variable is how much time you have.

3. College teachers

Obviously, the more mature the student, the more they can gain from the activities, readings, and actions in each of units. It is at this level that the units on "US Foreign Policy" and the military-industrial complex section in the unit on "The Military and US Life", especially the community research projects, are most appropriate. See the "Teacher Directions" with each unit for more specific directives.

4. Non-US teachers

Previous editions of this manual have been used by teachers in many other English speaking First World countries, especially Canada. In this edition, we have added a few more Canadian resources. The analysis and concepts, the activities, and many of the action suggestions in the units on "Hunger", "Global Poverty and Development", and "Global Interdependence" are as applicable to other First World countries as to the US, though many of the resources and some of the action suggestions are US oriented. The "US Foreign Policy", "The Military and US Life", and the "US-USSR Relations" units obviously have a US orientation. But because of the predominant role of US policy in this whole area of global justice and peace, these units have proven useful to other First World teachers. The "War and Alternatives" unit also has universal applicability, despite the US orientation of some of its action components. Creative teachers have adapted the action suggestions in these units to their own national situation. We would ask teachers from other countries using this manual to identify and send us their adaptations and descriptions of key resources from their own country, so that we can pass them on to other teachers inquiring from that country.

C. Complementary Resources/Experiences

1. In-Service Education

-- The Institute for Peace and Justice in St. Louis offers teacher workshops, in-service training and summer institutes on any or all of the topics covered in this manual. For further information contact Institute for Peace and Justice, 4144 Lindell, #400, St. Louis, Mo. 63108.

-- Educators for Social Responsibility has a number of excellent resources for Educating in a Nuclear Age which have been mentioned in the text. They also offer Teacher Training and In-Service Workshops on a variety of topics such as: "Education and the Threat of Nuclear War", "Politics and Bias in Teaching about Nuclear Issues", and "Teaching Students to be Peacemakers". Write ESR, 23 Garden St., Cambridge, MA 02138.

2. Consortium on Peace Research, Education, Development (COPRED)

This national network of educators, researchers, and activists has several task-forces. The Peace Education Network (PEN) is for elementary and secondary teachers. The College Network is for college teachers. There is also a Religion and Ethics Network. Write COPRED, c/o University of Illinois, Champaign-Urbana, IL., for further information.

3. Complimentary texts

The Third World Resources Project (464 19th St., Oakland, CA 94612; 415-835-4692) is a clearinghouse for educational materials and information on the US in the Third World. Its first publication, THIRD WORLD RESOURCE DIRECTORY: A GUIDE TO ORGANIZATIONS AND PUBLICATIONS by Thomas Fenton and Mary Heffron (Orbis Books, 1984) is an outstanding resource for educators. It describes organizations, printed and AV resources, and curriculum materials in ten areas: the Third World in general, Africa, Asia and the Pacific, Latin America, the Middle East, food/hunger, human rights, militarism/peace, transnational corporations, and women. Their listing of the "key resources" at the beginning of each chapter is immensely helpful to teachers, as are the 25 pages of indexes. This 283-page volume will be updated by a quarterly newsletter for educators.

"A Methodology for EPJ"

I. BASIC CONCEPT AND GOALS

A. Basic Concept

EDUCATION FOR PEACE AND JUSTICE (sometimes called peace education or global education; here abbreviated EPJ) is both a "what" and a "how". EPJ involves methodology and lifestyle as well as content. In order to communicate effectively the values and skills necessary for the building of peace, these values and skills must be experienced in the process. Peace, then, is not simply a concept to be taught, but a reality to be lived.

Peace is understood here in a positive sense. It means, first, developing alternatives to violence as a means of resolving human conflicts. But peace is more than the absence of war or overt violence. Peace is also the realization of justice. Working for peace is working for the kinds of relationships among persons and groups, and for the kinds of institutions (political, economic, social, educational) that promote the well-being or development of all persons. Such well-being includes, first, basic human necessities such as food, clothing, shelter, and skills development. Further, well-being necessitates the growth of persons in dignity, in self-determination, and in solidarity and service with their fellow human beings.

The overall goal in EPJ can be expressed in a way that reveals the basic methodological components of EPJ: from awareness to concern to action. EPJ promotes a process of conscientious decision-making on crucial social issues and thus seeks informed, compassionate and courageous agents of change. Because of the threatening aspects of peace and justice for most people, youth and adults alike, promoting this process of awareness, concern, and action requires us as peace educators to be gentle as well as challenging. Finally, in order for learners to experience the values and skills involved in EPJ, they need to see them modelled in our classrooms and lives. Let's examine each of these methodological elements.

B. Awareness(cognitive goals)

1. Of our personal giftedness. This two-fold awareness is probably the most important building block of EPJ. First, It means promoting a sense of self-esteem in both youth and adults. Without a positive self-concept or self-image, no one takes a stand, "goes public", works for change.

Secondly, the more we become aware of our giftedness -- that who we are and what we have in talents and possessions are really gifts or an "investment" made by many others in our lives and not something we went out and earned/created all by ourselves, as the "rugged individualists" would have us believe -- the more willing we are likely to be in sharing these talents and goods with others and in giving our lives for others in working for a better world.

2. Of peace and justice issues

The range of peace and justice issues is wide. The point, however, is not cram them all into a single program or course but to help students focus on a limited number in a way that enables them to delve into the causes of problems as well as data about the problem and to begin to see connections among these issues.

3. Of the human consequences involved.

What policy-makers as well as ordinary citizens often do not see or consider are the human consequences of their decisions. Conscientious decision-making demands that we become aware of the effects of our decisions on other people. Awareness of the "social costs" as well as the "economic costs" of federal budget cuts or jobs programs, for instance, is crucial in evaluating such measures. Awareness of the victims of policy decisions is also a part of generating concern (see below). Further, discovering the connections between these issues/policies and our own lives, especially if we are victimized in some way, has a way of stimulating our learning and increasing our willingness and opportunities.

4. Of manipulation/propaganda.

"It's OK, Dad, they only kill the enemy," was a nine-year old's response to a question from his father when he described an airborn ranger film he was shown in class by a military recruiter. An awareness that it is people who are killed in war, not some impersonal "the enemy", needs to be fostered at an early age. So, to an awareness of the manipulation of our wants and needs by advertising. EPJ helps us become more aware of value conflicts in our society and to develop critical thinking skills in general. To be conscientious decision-makers, students need to be encouraged to think for themselves, to see and evaluate alternative positions on various issues, to formulate their own positions and articulate more and more clearly the basic reasons for their positions.

5. Of why evil or injustice exists.

Young people especially struggle with this questions. M.Scott Peck's study of human evil in PEOPLE OF THE LIE is especially insightful and challenging to educators. Because he found in his study of the My Lai massacre during the Vietnam War what he calls "gross intellectual laziness and pathological narcissism" (selfishness, desire to be #1) to be the fundamental causes of group evil, he concludes his chapter on My Lai with a vision and plea for educators: "Children will, in my dream, be taught that laziness and narcissism are at the very root of all human evil, and why this is so. They will learn that each individual is of sacred importance. They will come to know that the natural tendency of the individual in a group is to forfeit his or her ethical judgment to the leader, and that this tendency should be resisted. And they will finally see it as each individual's responsibility to continually examine himself or herself for laziness and narcissism and then to purify themselves accordingly. They will do this in the knowledge that such personal purification is required not only for the salvation of their individual souls but also for the salvation of their world".(p. 253)

6. Of how social change takes place.

This involves an awareness of how institutions, especially political and economic ones, operate and how to address them most effectively. EPJ includes learning other skills, especially conflict resolution skills. Finally, becoming aware of the wide variety of action possibilities in relation to any issue is important in breaking open our imaginations about what we can do for peace and justice.

B. Concern (affective goals)

Perhaps the most constant task facing peace educators is nuturing an inner sense of solidarity or concern, which is the link between awareness and action. EPJ involves attitudinal change, not just content. Thus, as Gandhi realized, the heart as well as the head must be educated. There are many elements in this conversion process, which peace educators need to consider for their own lives as well as for their students. Those appropriate to public education settings include:

1. Being touched by advocates for justice.

People working hard for justice provide us with both inspiration and imagination. The witness of people who are giving themselves generously, often at some risk, can help young and old overcome our fears of being questioned, laughed at, ignored, or worse. The witness of people whose motivation is not financial gain and who find challenge and joy in working for change offers an important counter-model to the materialism all around us. The activities of these advocates for justice--especially if we have a chance to ask them questions, listen to their stories, and so on--can also give all of us ideas about what we can do.

2. Being touched by the victims of injustice.

For people who are not victims of injustice, such exposure has similar benefits, especially in terms of inspiration. Statistics about hungry people or the victims of war often do not touch our hearts and move us to action. However, the *experience* of a hungry person or victim of war often does. There is an urgency about injustice that we do not experience generally unless we encounter the victims of that injustice. Further, encountering the victims of injustice, especially in their struggle against that injustice, can break down another counter-productive attitude. Most non-poor and non-victims think of the poor as needy and deficient. The economically poor are not seen as gifted nor as often capable of helping themselves. Experience can dispel this stereotype. Meeting the victims of injustice in their giftedness can open us to learn from them. And we have much to learn from them, particularly about injustice and about action for justice.

3. Being supported in community.

Working for peace and justice often involves some risk. The support of others helps us overcome our fears. Working with others increases the effectiveness of our social action and provides both accountability and challenge. It is easier to run away, as it were, when no one else is around. Finally, working with others provides the necessary ingredient of enjoyment. Children need especially to enjoy social involvement if they are to integrate it into their own lives. Having other children along makes a real difference in many cases.

C. Action (behavioral goals

Genuine concern expresses itself in action. Conscientious decision-making implies courageous action in implementing our decisions. This action component of EPJ is broadly defined. No one type of action is recommended for everyone. Individuals are at many different points, and what is appropriate for one person is not necessarily appropriate for others. The range of action suggestions in EPJ includes:

1. Actions of direct service as well as social or structural change (working to change those situations or institutions that cause people to need direct service).

2. Actions that focus on local issues as well as global issues, on both the local and global dimensions of the same issue. It is especially important in this volume on GLOBAL DIMENSIONS to acknowledge the need to move on local issues as well and to try to incorporate the local dimensions of these issues whenever possible, particularly with regard to hunger and poverty.

3. Actions that can be done within the school or home as well as in the community and larger world.

4. Actions involving life-style changes, particularly for older students, and teachers, if we find ourselves so relatively comfortable that we have little understanding of the economically poor.

II. HOW TO TEACH EPJ IN (RELATIVELY) NON-THREATENING WAYS

A. Take students where they are

We need to be explicit at the beginning that it is OK to disagree, that the "truth" of any issue is not something that any one person has completely and that we all need to contribute our portion of the truth of an issue in a spirit of openness to and respect for one another. Having students express (in an essay, collage, etc.) their own vision of peace and justice or understanding of a given issue at the beginning of the study and then again at the end of the study is a creative way of demonstrating growth as well as affirming their persons.

B. Share personal histories

Another way of taking students where they are is at the beginning of a course or program to ask each student to identify those experiences in their life what have led them to where they are with regard to peace and justice (or concern for others); i.e., those events or persons that have touched them in some way to sensitize them to these concerns. Sharing these personal histories, even a single example, with others is important for both personal affirmation and community building.

C. Challenge rather than indoctrinate students.

While each of us has our own personal convictions and while the authors of this manual have taken some definite stands on issues, which are reflected to some extent in the choice of themes, the range of action suggestions, and some of the readings in this volume; the process we strongly suggest for teaching these issues has as its goal to challenge students to formulate their own position on issues and take action appropriate to their own situation. To achieve this goal, we have provided some value clarification activities at the beginning of several of the units, a number of multiple perspectives and point-counterpoint examples, a process for evaluating these examples (especially on how to decide who to believe). We encourage you to have students articulate their own position or perspective on an issue before inviting them to appropriate action on that issue. Of special value here is the process for choosing appropriate action presented at the end of the unit on "War and Alternatives" (pp.). You might use this process in conjunction with each action decision students make.

D. Use "third sources" for teaching threatening content

If challenging or threatening content comes mostly from audio-visuals, readings, and outside speakers, rather than mostly from you, then students can focus their possible disagreement and often strong emotions on those "third sources" and not primarily on you. That makes it easier for you to help them work through the issue and be less defensive. It also makes it easier for students to express their own feelings and positions. Sometimes it is difficult for them to challenge teachers.

E. Diffuse the "patriotism" issue

Many students may consider critical thinking about governmental policies as "anti-patriotic", as tearing down something precious to them. We need to be sensitive to students' feelings and to the disillusionment that often accompanies a study of peace and justice, as students discover that their country and all institutions are flawed in a number of ways. We can help them see that these realities invite us to a new form of patriotism. When we understand patriotism as devotion to the ideals of one's country, we can see people willing to take risks to maintain those ideals as deeply patriotic. Sometimes loving one's country means working hard to change its policies or practices in order to bring these more in line with its ideals of freedom and justice for all. We promote this understanding and respect for differences in our classrooms when we speak respectfully of all persons, particularly those with whom we disagree; when we refer, for instance, to both military personnel and conscientious objectors as patriotic; and when we present our own criticisms of government policies in a constructive vein.

F. Make action suggestions less overwhelming

1. Start by having students identify what they are already doing, for two reasons. First, it affirms them for who they are rather than starting by pointing out all the actions they are not doing and thus generating needless guilt and defensiveness. Secondly, students are often more open to accepting new possibilities when they come (in group sharing) from other students rather than from the teacher who they expect to be doing those actions.

2. Acknowledge our own "brokenness" by using examples of failures early on, so that students can identify with our struggles. Honesty adds credibility.

3. Acknowledge our awareness of the obstacles in their lives that make social action difficult and then help them generate strategies to overcome these obstacles. It is especially helpful here to have students working in smaller groups with others in similar situations and/or facing similar obstacles.

4. Invite participants to campaigns/actions that offer a range of action possibilities, since people are at many different places and need to move one step at a time. Similarly, invite students to campaigns/groups already underway, so that they experience a sense of community, support, and increased effectiveness. Especially for children, these action possibilities have to be within their capability to deal with emotionally as well as intellectually.

5. Encourage participants to invite others to join them in actions. Set up a support system for students for implementing their action decisions (e.g., choosing a partner with whom to work or check in).

6. Integrate social action with joy. Without joy, heavy issues and serious study and struggle will probably not be very appealing to either children or adults. Besides working together with friends, making social action more joyful means finding creative actions -- for children, making banners or baking bread, etc. It means celebrating little victories or coupling a difficult service activity with a "treat" or fun event.

7. Stress quality rather than quantity.
A longer-term relationship with a person, group, campaign is much more valuable than flitting from issue to issue. And always stress taking one step at a time and that the multitude of action possibilities generated in a course is not meant to overwhelm participants but to break open their imaginations as to what can be done. In general, help people feel good about what they can do rather than guilty about what they cannot do.

G. Love our students

Whether we are teaching children in a classroom or an adult education program, the more that students experience our concern for them as persons, the more open they generally are to learning with/from us and the more difficult it is for them to write off the more challenging aspects of our teaching. If they know we are genuinely concerned about their well-being, if we take an interest in their daily lives, then our challenging words will be listened to differently.

III. MODELING OUR VALUES

Again, EPJ is both a "what" and a "how". Students learn best when the process is consistent with the content and when the content is fleshed out in the life of the teacher.

A. In our Classrooms

The process of EPJ must itself be peaceful and just. If peace means cooperation and non-violence, if justice includes dignity, self-determination, and interdependence or solidarity; then EPJ demands a mutual or cooperative model of education. A process whereby both the teacher's desires and the students' desires are incorporated into decisions needs to be established. Mutual decision-making, using the insights and skills gained in non-violent conflict resolution, can extend to what is to be learned, to how the student's performance is evaluated, to discipline, and to decisions about time and space in the classroom. The development of cooperative rather than competitive ways of learning, relating, and playing is a giant step toward the realization and experience of peace in the school. The unit on "Mutuality in Education" in Volume 1 develops this methodology in detail.

B. In our Lives

While we are very willing to share our brokenness, our failures, students also need to see in us sustained action in building the human or global family. The more we try to live what we teach, the more credible and effective we are as teachers. We cannot be involved in every cause or action, but we need to be involved in at least one and be willing to share this involvement -- humbly and without laying guilt trips -- with our students. Our fidelity is an important source of their hope.

WORLD HUNGER

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OUTLINE OF THE CONTENTS

TEACHER DIRECTIONS AND SPECIAL RESOURCES

A. Sensitizing Activities as an Introduction to Hunger

B. Women and Hunger

C. Myths and Facts about Hunger

D. Audio-Visual Overview Presentation

E. Overview Essay on Hunger

F. Activities and Actions Based on the Four Hunger Principles

    1. Principle #1: Food as a Basic Human Right
    2. Principle #2: The Poor Are More Than Poor
    3. Principle #3: Overcoming Hunger Means a Redistribution of Power
    4. Principle #4: Action is a Matter of Justice, Not Charity

STUDENT READINGS:

-- Mr. and Mrs. C
-- "Women and Food: Personal Perspectives on a Global Problem"
-- "Hunger is Not a Myth"
-- "Hunger: Four Principles"

TEACHER DIRECTIONS

This unit represents a mini-version of BREAD AND JUSTICE, my Paulist Press hunger program and thus is for the teacher who can only spend a few classes on the hunger issue. If you want to spend three or more weeks on the issue, I would recommend BREAD AND JUSTICE, for advanced high school students or college students. For junior high especially, but also for middle grades, the best extensive curriculum on hunger is the FOOD FIRST CURRICULUM from the Institute for Food and Development Policy, from whom also comes the "Myths and Facts about Hunger" selection in this unit.

This unit can be used by elementary teachers as well as high school and college teachers, particularly the "Sensitizing Activities" (Section A) and the "Activities and Action Responses" (Section F). Since most of the information presented in the next unit on "Global Poverty and Development" is geared to older students, it is important for elementary teachers to do a number of the activities here as a prelude to the important unit on "Global Interdependence".

This unit is designed to complement the one on "Global Poverty and Development" in a second way. While this unit does include a five-page overview essay -- "Hunger: Four Principles" -- for older students to read and as background for teachers of younger students, the unit is much less conceptual and much more action-oriented. Since we consider action as an essential dimension of learning as well as one of the goals of consciousness-raising, we would strongly recommend your emphasizing the action opportunities presented below.

The section on "Myths and Facts about Hunger" is an important part of the factual base we see as essential for considering the hunger, poverty, and development issues in this and the following unit. The questions following each "myth" allow the students to challenge the perspective of the Institute for Food and Development Policy. The "Hunger Cycle" chart in the section on "Women and Hunger" provides the opportunity to compare the more socio-political perspective of the Institute with what might be called a more personal and technological perspective that seems to be reflected in the chart, at least to some extent.

Another dimension worth stressing in this unit is section B on "Women and Hunger". Generally, because of sexist attitudes and practices in all societies, women are more victimized by poverty, hunger and war than men. For additional activities and resources on this dimension, see the unit on "Sexism" in Volume I.

SPECIAL RESOURCES

Bibliographies

-- Bread for the World, Oxfam America (EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES CATALOGUE), CROP/Church World Service, UNICEF, and others all publish extensive bibliographies.

--The "World Food Day: Resource List for Teachers K-6" and "High School Study Guide and Resource List" from the National Committee for World Food Day (1776 F St. NW, Washington, DC 20437; 202-376-2306) include AVs as well as written materials.

--AUDIO-VISUAL RESOURCES ON THE POLITICS OF HUNGER is a 20-page AV bibliography that is updated annually; from the World Hunger Education Service, 1317 G St., NW, Washington, DC 20005; 202-347-4441. They also publish WHO'S INVOLVED WITH HUNGER: AN ORGANIZATION GUIDE (4th edition coming spring 1985) with short descriptions of more than 300 organizations dealing with hunger-related issues.

For teacher and older student background reading

-- All the books listed on the Institute for Food and Development Policy's list on the "Hunger Is Not a Myth" sheet are excellent, especially FOOD FIRST.

-- William Byron, ed., THE CAUSES OF WORLD HUNGER (Ramsey, NJ: Paulist Press, 1982) is a collection of 18 writers focusing on the causes of hunger.

-- Louis Knowles, A GUIDE TO WORLD HUNGER ORGANIZATIONS (from Seeds, 222 E. Lake Dr. Decatur, GA 30030; 404-378-3566; 1984) is a good action guide on hunger and describes the work of 20 US and international organizations in great detail. Seeds has also produced a number of pamphlets on various hunger-related activities/actions, like how to start a food bank or food co-op.

-- Presidential Commission on World Hunger, OVERCOMING WORLD HUNGER: THE CHALLENGE AHEAD (US Government Printing Office, 1980; $6; abridged version also available) is an excellent analysis of the causes of world hunger but its policy recommendations are weaker and reflect the political nature of the Commission.

-- Jack Nelson, HUNGER FOR JUSTICE: The Politics of Food and Faith (Orbis: Maryknoll, NY, 1979) is an excellent economic analysis of hunger, but with a biblical perspective in part.

Teacher sources of alternative or supplementary activities

-- Laurie Rubin, FOOD FIRST CURRICULUM (Institute for Food and Development Policy, 1984; $14) looks at all aspects of the hunger question, beginning with children's own experiences with food and moving through some of the economics and politics of hunger before getting to action. See the selection in section A below.

-- Camy Condon and James McGinnis, GLOBAL FAMILY PUPPETS (Institute for Peace and Justice, 1984) presents several skits and chants on global awareness and hunger, with the "100 Hungry People" an especially engaging puppet skit for middle grades and junior high.

-- WHEN I WAS HUNGRY: A course for high school students (revised 1980 Bread for the World Educational Fund program). Student text is $3.00. The teacher's manual contains the student text, lesson plans and action suggestions for each chapter; a copy of BREAD FOR THE WORLD; and a collection of background papers ($6.00).

-- TEACHING ABOUT FOOD AND HUNGER: 33 ACTIVITIES (Center for Teaching International Relations, University of Denver, 1978); a unit for grades 6-12, covering poverty, nutrition, interdependence, and other related themes, with a wide variety of activities. $8.95.

-- Phil and Jean Lersch, HUNGER ACTIVITIES FOR CHILDREN (Brethren House, 6301 56th Avenue North, St. Petersburg, FL 33709; 1978); 121 pages of classroom and family activities, integrated with Scripture and some action possibilities. For elementary grades.

-- FOOD: WHERE NUTRITION, POLITICS AND CULTURE MEET (Center for Scence in the Public Interest, 1755 S. Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009); for high school and college classes on nutrition, advertising and marketing of food, food and the environment, and U.S. policy and world hunger.

-- Susan Kinsella, FOOD ON CAMPUS: A RECIPE FOR ACTION (Emmaus, PA: Rodale Press, 1978); a step-by-step guide to improving a college food service operation, with a consideration of junk foods, nutritional education, and food vending.

-- Ellen Weiss and Nance Pettit, ECLIPSE OF THE BLUE MOON FOODS (from the Cooperative Food Education Project, 2606 Westwood Dr., Nashville, TN 37204; 1978) is a set of 3 manuals (teachers, student, family pamphlet) on teaching food education to 5th and 6th graders.

-- FEED, NEED, GREED A high school curriculum, 1980; ($5.50). Activity oriented presentation of the political and economic issues surrounding food resources and population. Order from Science for the People, 897 Main St., Cambridge, MA 02139.

-- FOOD FOR ALL: A 6-unit curriculum teaching the hunger issue. Global Perspectives in Education, Inc., 218 E. 18th St. NY, NY 10003. Grades 7-12.

-- ENDING HUNGER: IT'S POSSIBLE, IT'S HAPPENING; American Friends Service Committee, 15 Rutherford, NY, NY 10008. Simulation game plus set of in-depth study materials. ($5.50) Grades 7-12.

-- ALL TIED UP (from Alternatives, P.O. Box 429, Ellenwood, GA 30049; 404-961-0102, 1984) is a 20 hour program helping young people "get into the shoes" of hungry Third World children. It explores the connnections and structures that lie at the root of hunger and shows how we're "all tied up" in this together; has a Bible study component.

-- REACHING OUT. ..TO LEND A HELPING HAND is the Heifer Project's (P.O. Box 808, Little Rock, AR 72203) collection of 57 fund-raising activities for adults/families and 13 for children; especially good for younger children.

-- OXFAM AMERICA'S "RESOURCE GUIDE FOR ELEMENTARY & HIGH SCHOOLS" offers activities, action suggestions and resources on hunger, focusing on their annual "Fast for a World Harvest".

For student reading

-- Joseph Collins and Frances Moore Lappe, WORLD HUNGER: TEN MYTHS (Institute for Food and Development Policy, 1979 edition); a 50-page summary of FOOD FIRST. Teachers might also want to order copies of the July, 1983 issue of the THE NEW INTERNATIONALIST for a cartoon version of the ten myths of FOOD FIRST COMICS is a comic book version of the FOOD FIRST analysis; for junior and senior high students.

-- Susan George and Nigel Paige, FOOD FOR BEGINNERS (London, England: Writers and Publishers, 1982; $4.95, 175 pp; and also available from Oxfam America) is a challenging analysis of the causes of hunger, with clever graphics and cartoons.

-- FACTS FOR ACTION is the Oxfam America pamphlet series (6/year; $4) on a variety of dimensions of the hunger issue (the arms race, women, refugees, population, self-reliance, and specific country analysis).

-- "TRICK OR TREAT: THE STICKY WORLD OF FOOD" is the title of the May, 1984 issue of THE NEW INTERNATIONALIST magazine (113 Atlantic Ave., Brooklyn, NY, 11201) that examines many dimensions of the hunger issue, including the food industry, nutrition, advertising, and women -- in both the First World and the Third World; excellent graphics.

For regular updating

-- The monthly newletter of BREAD FOR THE WORLD, containing legislative updates, organizational suggestions, background information, and occasional background papers.

-- HUNGER NOTES: A JOURNAL OF FACTS AND ACTION is the World Hunger Education Service (see above) monthly 8-page hunger update (a different thematic focus each issue). Special 4-page Institute for Food and Development Policy mailings and Oxfam America's FACTS FOR ACTION series (above) serve a similar updating function, as does the Hunger Project's 4-page bi-weekly WORLD DEVELOPMENT FORUM report (P.O. Box 789, San Francisco, CA 94101).

-- IMPACT and other mailings from INTERFAITH ACTION FOR ECONOMIC JUSTICE (110 Maryland Avenue,N.E., Washington DC 20002; and their toll-free number is 800-424-7292); a way of finding out immediately what is happening legislatively on hunger and related issues.

WORLD HUNGER

GOALS

To communicate a sense of urgency about hunger, without misrepresenting the world's hungry as nothing but hungry people.

To help students realize that hunger, like other aspects of poverty, is more a matter of relative powerlessness of the hungry and that any adequate solutions involve a redistribution of power and changes in economic, political and social structures.

To help teachers and students realize the attitudinal changes that must accompany structural changes if hunger is to be eliminated and find ways of working on these attitudinal changes.

To help teachers and students see how they can act to alleviate hunger, locally and globally.

PROCEDURES

A. Sensitizing Activities as an Introduction to Hunger

1. For middle grade students and older, have them play the "Spaceship Earth" simulation described in the unit on "Global Interdependence", below, pp. 108 , with hunger as the focal issue and the goal being: HANDLE THE FOOD PROBLEM OF THE SPACESHIP AS BEST YOU CAN.

2. For junior high students and older, research the depth or extent of hunger in your own local community. This can mean either talking with one person about hunger in their life (or in the life of someone they know - like Mr. and Mrs. C below) or talking with a hunger group or food distribution center about the numbers of hungry people in the area. It is important for students to see hunger a local problem as well as a global problem.

3. For junior high students and older, duplicate the case of "Mr and Mrs. C" from p. and have the students answer the questions in writing before having a class discussion. For younger students, you might read (and adapt) the story and ask the students questions that follow.

4. For middle grade students and older, have a "Third World Banquet". A Third World Banquet is one at which 1/3 of the group is served a banquet dinner while the other 2/3 are served a poverty meal. A poverty meal is the typical meal of a poor person in another part of the world or in one's own area. A little bread, rice and water would be typical for parts of Asia. A small portion of refried beans would be typical for parts of Latin America. The well-fed 1/3 may choose to share but they might not. A variation of this is offered in the FOOD FIRST CURRICULUM, which we reprint here with their permission:

ACTIVITY ONE ★ ★ ★ key

How Does the World Eat?

Description

The group will be divided up into sections simulating world population divisions and served a snack food divided into portions proportionate to the control of world resources.

Related Subjects

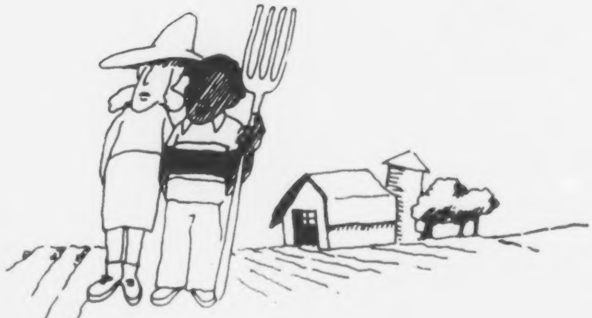
Nutrition, Social Studies, Geography.

Objectives

1. To develop an appreciation for the widespread existence of hunger in a world of bountiful resources, and to understand that scarcity is not the cause of hunger.
2. To become more inquisitive about the causes of hunger.
3. To become familiar with the inequality of distribution of resources.

Materials

World map, and enough of a nutritious snack food to provide every person with a generous snack portion. Examples: graham crackers, fruit slices, peanuts, popcorn, raisins.

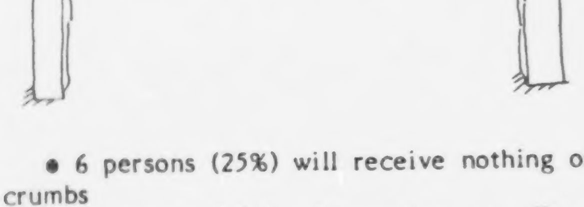


Procedure

Note: This activity requires sensitivity on the part of the teacher.

1. In advance, obtain the snack food and divide it up in the appropriate portions simulating world resource distribution. Start with a more than generous portion for each child. Plan to divide the food so that roughly one quarter of the participants will receive either some crumbs or nothing, roughly one quarter will receive a very small portion, roughly one quarter will receive a moderate portion, and roughly one quarter will receive a very large portion. Within the last group you may want to subdivide so that one or two children have even larger portions than the others.

Example: For a group of 24, start with 24 medium- to large-sized apples cut into quarters, for a total of 96 slices.



- 6 persons (25%) will receive nothing or crumbs
- 6 persons (25%) will receive one slice each
- 6 persons (25%) will receive three slices each
- 5 persons (22%) will receive ten slice each
- 1 person (3%) will receive 25 slices

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2. Explain to the group that you are going to serve a simulation snack that reflects how much people around the world get to eat. Ask for discussion on the children's ideas on the distribution of food in the world—how many people go hungry and where they live. Do not let individuals or groups of individuals pretend they represent a particular country.It is important to stress that, while the distribution of the snack represents global food distribution, there are hungry people and well-fed people in virtually every country.

3. Ask the participants not to eat until told to do so. Distribute the snack randomly so that children receiving large portions are close to children receiving small portions and to those receiving nothing.

4. Explain how the distribution corresponds to that in the real world. In some countries, such as the U.S., there are a few very rich persons, many middle-income persons, and a smaller number of poor persons who often go hungry. In some countries, such as Sweden, almost everyone has a middle-income level and no one goes hungry. In some countries, such as India, most of the people are poor and often hungry, but there are a few rich persons and a few middle-income persons. In some countries, such as the People's Republic of China, almost all of the people have low to middle incomes, but no one goes hungry.

Allow the children to react to the situation. Let the group try to work out whether it would like to distribute the food more fairly or to eat it as is. If they choose to change the distribution, let them try to design a fair method in their own way. This should be an extremely difficult task. The purpose of this is to give students a feel for how hard it is for people of the world to negotiate fair solutions to problems.

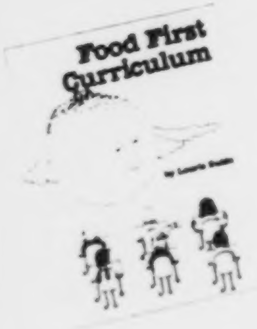
Note: If your group has had a lot of experience working together and cooperating, you may choose to not allow discussions on redistribution of the snack. If this step is done quickly and easily, it would negate the realism of this simulation of the inequalities in the world.

5. Allow the children to eat. Explain the fact that the world produces enough to feed every child, woman, and man the equivalent in calories to what the average person in the U.S. eats every day. Discuss the process—how it relates to the real world and relationships among countries, how the children with the biggest portions feel, how the children with the smallest portions feel, how the real world might be able to equalize the availability of food, and how the distribution of food compares to the children's previous ideas discussed in Step 2.

6. Make it clear to the children that the inequalities in food distribution exist here in the United States and Canada as well as in other parts of in the world. Discuss the existence of hunger in your area, the children's experiences with hungry people, the possible causes of hunger, and possible solutions.

7. Journals—Allow the children to make journal entries on how it felt to be a part of the simulation, and about the existence of hunger in a world of plenty.

* * *



The FOOD FIRST CURRICULUM is an integrated, six-unit curriculum designed to promote broad skill development while exploring global issues. Using innovative teaching methods, the curriculum investigates the path of food from farm to table, domestic and global hunger, and how children can help to bring about changes in their communities. Modifications for grades 4-8. 164 pages, illustrations, worksheets, teachers' resources. ISBN 0-935028-17-X. $14.00 postpaid.

Food First Institute for Food and Development Policy
1885 Mission Street San Francisco, CA 94103 (415) 864-8555

5. For middle grade students and older, have them visit a local house of hospitality (e.g. the Catholic Worker, the Salvation Army) at meal time, and if possible, assist in the preparation and/or serving of the meal.

6. For primary grades and/up, have students, preferably with some parents, visit a local open-air/farmers' market some Saturday afternoon, to pick up the usable produce that has been thrown behind the stalls (to find what many poor people do for a meal); perhaps prepare a group meal with the produce gathered, with the children helping with the cooking.

7. For primary grades, have a "Third World Party", one in which 1/3 of the class gets several cookies, while 2/3 gets a part of a soda cracker. Students can share, but are not required to. A variation of this might be called the "Apple Game" -- bring in 5 apples and discuss different ways of distribution them (give to the 5 "most hungry" but how do you determine this? have a lottery, divide equally, sell to the highest bidder, save until we really need them, convert them to a product we can all share).

8. Have students of all ages plan a dinner for themselves that they would really enjoy and determine its cost as best they can. Then have them plan a dinner for $1.30 (the poverty expenditure) and compare the two.

9. For younger children, show an AV like WHAT'S NICE, RICE just before lunch and ask children how they would feel if there were no lunch today. Discuss their feelings, both physical and emotional, and whether they think it is fair that some eat while others do not.

10. For primary grades, fairy tales can be used to introduce students to the ideas of hunger and over-consumption. For instance:

- why did Hansel and Gretel have to leave home?
- what happened when Peter Rabbit ate too much in Mr. McGregor's garden?
- why did the three little pigs need to live in fear?

11. Puppets offer another engaging approach for primary and middle grade students. In GLOBAL FAMILY PUPPETS, Camy Condon uses a Japanese fable entitled "The Rabbit in the Moon" to help students appreciate the value of sharing, and her "100 Hungry People" skit to make the statistics of hunger much more graphic. Students could create their own simple puppet skits dramatizing the realities of hunger, perhaps some of the causes, and then some of the actions they can do to address hunger.

NOTE: As a way of keeping students personally related to the issues as they proceed through this unit, some teachers have required 10 minutes of daily sustained writing. Topics could include: My Favorite Food, How Many Meals a Day? The Snack Food Mania, Snap/Crackle in Front of the TV, Dining Out, School Lunches, How My Grandparents Used to Eat, Waste in the Cafeteria, and Food Stamps.

B. Women and Hunger

1. Background to the essay on "Women and Food" (student reading at end of this unit): The experiences of women vary greatly from one part of the world to another, and the lot of women cannot be divorced from the fates of their respective peoples. Though women throughout the world may be striving for "liberation", the liberating process and the goals will be far different

for women in the developing countries and women in industrialized nations. Yet the fact of their subservient position is universal, and sex role divisions commonly impose upon women all over the world the responsibility of caring for the home and producing meals for men and children. For this reason the world food crisis, like most global problems, cannot be addressed without considering women's perspectives.

Much has been written about the world food crisis, most of it in the form of statistics and other abstractions. Little attention has been given to the role of women in food production, processing and preparation. Women in some societies provide 60-90% of the agricultual production. The majority of women spend long anguished hours in the process of providing nourishment.

The purpose of these essays is to illustrate that anguished process through the experience of individual women who are in many ways typical of millions of women throughout the world. Each of the women is 33 years old. Each is married and must provide food for young children. Although none of the three women described below are actual persons, these vignettes are based on the real experience of women in Kenya, Italy and the United States.

2. Activities

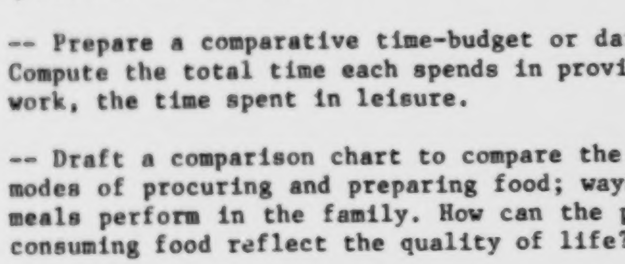
-- Duplicate the student essay, "Women and Food": Personal Perspectives on a Global Problem", for each student. Have them read the essay and discuss the questions at the end.

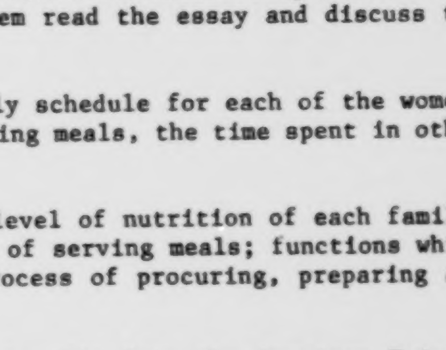
-- Prepare a comparative time-budget or daily schedule for each of the women. Compute the total time each spends in providing meals, the time spent in other work, the time spent in leisure.

-- Draft a comparison chart to compare the level of nutrition of each family; modes of procuring and preparing food; ways of serving meals; functions which meals perform in the family. How can the process of procuring, preparing and consuming food reflect the quality of life?

-- Use WOMEN IN A HUNGRY WORLD (A Study/Action Kit from the American Friends Service Committee, 15 Rutherford Place, New York,NY 10003, 1978; $5.50) focuses on the problems, causes, and possibilities of women caught in poverty and how others can work for international policies that will aid women and their families toward self-reliance.

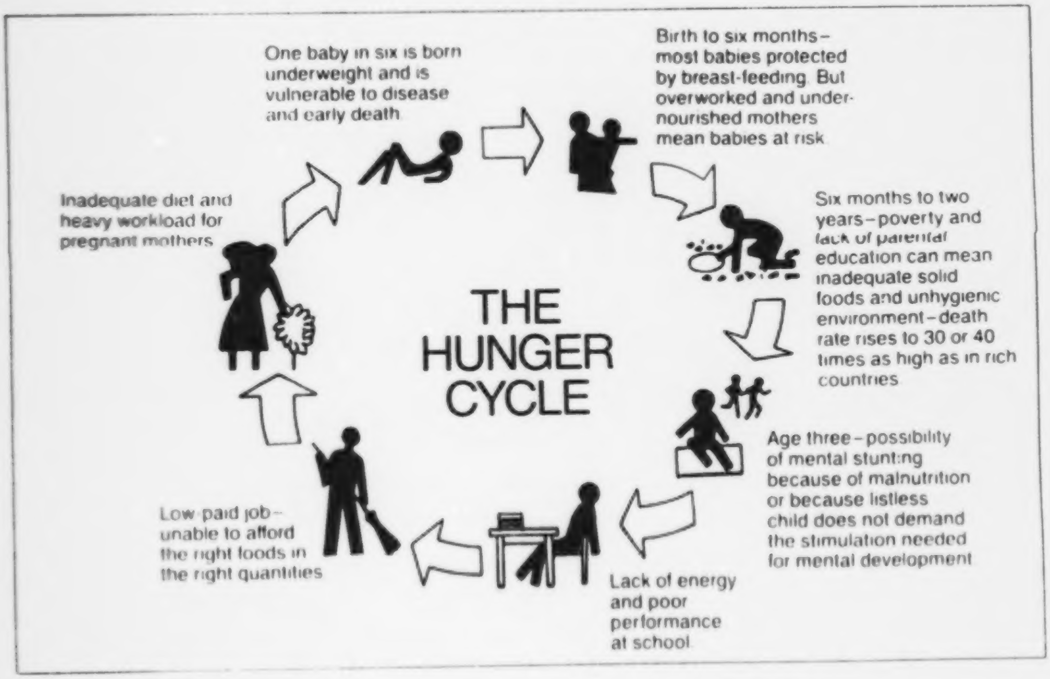
-- Show WOMEN IN TOUCH, a 12-minute, 1982 filmstrip (with study guide, from Church World Service, P.O. Box 968, Elkhart, IN 46515) in which US women reflect on the lives of their sisters in the Third World.





3. "The Hunger Cycle"

Duplicate the following chart or project it on an overhead projector and have students discuss the questions below:


THE HUNGER CYCLE
One baby in six is born underweight and is vulnerable to disease and early death
Birth to six months – most babies protected by breast-feeding. But overworked and undernourished mothers mean babies at risk
Six months to two years – poverty and lack of parental education can mean inadequate solid foods and unhygienic environment – death rate rises to 30 or 40 times as high as in rich countries
Age three – possibility of mental stunting because of malnutrition or because listless child does not demand the stimulation needed for mental development
Lack of energy and poor performance at school
Low-paid job – unable to afford the right foods in the right quantities
Inadequate diet and heavy workload for pregnant mothers

(from WORLD DEVELOPMENT FORUM, The Hunger Project, P.O. Box 789, San Francisco, CA 94101, and reprinted with their permission)

-- What stages in this cycle do you find illustrated in the stories of the three women in "Women and Food"?

-- Do you find any "blaming the victim" in any of the descriptions of the various stages? If so, is it justified? Why or why not?

-- After reading the 8 myths in "Hunger is Not a Myth" below, see if there are any elements in that piece that should be incorporated into this "cycle".

-- What specific actions or steps can and need to be taken at the various stages to break into this cycle?

-- At what stage(s) do you think action would be the most effective in order to break the cycle?

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C. "Myths and Facts about Hunger"

1. Duplicate and have students read the "Hunger Is Not a Myth" pages and discuss the following questions on each of the the "myths":

-- In the Introduction, why do the mayors say that hunger is "the most prevalent and most insidious social problem" facing U.S. cities? Do you agree? Why or why not?

-- In Myth #1, why do you think so many people feel that there isn't enough food in the world for everyone? To what extent is the "common pattern" true of your own country?

-- In Myth #2, what do you think they mean in saying that "high birth rates are a symptom, as is hunger itself, of the powerlessness of the poor"? Do you agree? Why or why not?

-- In Myth #3, why do they say that "the poor are doubly hurt" by these technologies? Do you agree? Why or why not?

-- In Myth #4, why do you think small farmers consistently produce more per acre than the biggest owners/operators?

-- In Myth #5, they say "we share a common threat with the hungry abroad". What is this "common threat"? Who does it threaten in your country? How does it threaten you personally? They say "we should be allies in a common effort to regain our rightful power. . ." How can you do this? Where would be a good place to start to regain our rightful power? Possibilities here might include:
- -- gardening, food co-ops, to gain more control over what we eat;
- -- organizing through Bread for the World;
- -- joining with small producers through farmers' markets;
- -- participating in boycotts supporting farm workers;

-- In Myth #6, why do they feel that foreign aid is not the answer and is often part of the problem? Does it have to be this way? What would make foreign aid more helpful? They say that "our tax and consumer dollars link us to the proliferation of hunger in the Third World". What are these "links"? What are some ways we can turn these links into reducing rather than proliferating hunger?

-- In Myth #7, how do the people/groups listed by the authors benefit from hunger? Do you think the authors are fair in each case? Why or why not?

-- In Myth #8, what are some of the "cultural messages" that they say often "cause the poor to blame themselves for their plight"?

-- In the conclusion, why do they say that "it's not up to us to 'save the hungry' but to work together with them"? What would be the most appropriate concrete step you could take right now to "make a difference"?

2. You might have students create a simple graph or a cartoon illustrating the various myth/facts.

3. Return to the "Hunger Cycle" chart and see if any of the elements from this study fit into the cycle. Have them re-draw the cycle as they perceive it individually and/or construct a modified cycle as a whole class.

D. AV Overview Presentation: There are numerous AV presentations on world hunger. The ones that best parallel an understanding of hunger and hunger actions presented in this unit are the following. (Most are directed to high school, college, and adult groups. For younger students, several are listed below.) Be sure to allow ample time for discussion following the AV. The visual impact of an AV makes this an important aspect of this unit.

For High School, College and Adult Groups:

-- THE BUSINESS OF HUNGER is a 1984, 28-minute 16mm Maryknoll film on the impact of export cropping and multinational corporations on world hunger. It examines these realities in Latin America, Asia, and the US, proposing a redistribution of resources and power. Part of a PBS special on hunger.

-- "FOOD FIRST" is a 1979 two-part filmstrip (or slides) version of the excellent book, FOOD FIRST, written by Joseph Collins and Frances Moore Lappe, and available from the Institute for Food and Development Policy. Besides addressing the basic hunger principles described in the essay below and making the case of "food self-reliance", this AV outlines a number of responses for promoting food self-reliance.

-- "HUNGER AND PUBLIC POLICY" is the title of the 1980 revision of Bread for the World's filmstrip. It offers an excellent introduction to the problem and challenge of world hunger and focuses specifically on how citizens can be politically active. Two other BFW filmstrips examine the trade, aid, and military spending connections of hunger (entitled "Issue"); and how to organize public policy groups (entitled "What Can I Do?"). All are available from the national BFW office.

-- "A WORLD HUNGRY" is a Teleketics presentation distributed by the Franciscan Communications Center (1229 South Santee Stree, Los Angeles, CA 90015). Divided into five filmstrips (ten minutes each), it offers a vision of the hunger issue that emphasized the structural causes of hunger and what we can do about it. Part I examines ten myths that prevent us from seeing the hunger issue as it really is. Part II analyzes eight basic causes. Part III focuses on the ingredients necessary for Third World farmers to feed their countries. Parts IV and V discuss personal responses - information, lifestyle, church action, and political action. Primarily aimed at white middle-class North Americans.

-- "THOSE WHO HUNGER" (for religious schools) is the slide component of the THOSE WHO HUNGER program (Paulist, 1979). Fifteen minutes long, this AV outlines the basic components of justice, links them with the hunger principles in the essay below, offers a variety of action responses, and integrates this with a Biblical perspective and with the meaning of Lent. Available for purchase or as a rental ($11) from our Institute.

-- HUNGER HOTLINE REVISITED is a 12-minute filmstrip, which introduces audiences to root causes of hunger using a television talk-show format. Excellent discussion starter. From Church World Service/CROP (Elkhart, IN 46515) free loan, $15 purchase.

HELP
CROP
STOP
HUNGER

For elementary and junior high students: besides the UNICEF resources described in the unit on "Global Interdependence", you might consider:

-- WHAT'S NICE, RICE! a 12-minute filmstrip (from Friendship Press, 475 Riverside Dr., New York, NY 10115; $7.50) that shows how hunger dominates the lives of many children in India; for grades 1-4.

-- CHILDREN OF SUN; CHILDREN OF RAIN a 7-minute filmstrip (also from Friendship Press) that portrays the children of Latin America and the children of North America; for grades 3-6.

-- REMEMBER ME is a UNICEF film (distributed by Pyramid Films, P.O. Box 1048, Santa Monica, CA 90406) that graphically portrays the poverty in the lives of so many children around the world; for junior high.

E. Overview Essay on Hunger

The essay below, excerpts from Chapter 2 of BREAD AND JUSTICE, presents an overview of hunger. That is, it offers a series of four principles and some policy implications of these principles - to guide our thinking and acting on the hunger issue. For high school students and older, you might want to duplicate the essay for each person to read, with the questions serving as the basis for class discussion. For elementary students, you might instead present in simpler terms some of the principles in the essay, as the conceptual basis for the activities and action suggestions that follow in Section F of this unit. There are two points in the essay that are especially important for establishing at the beginning of this study -- that food is a basic human right and that "helping" the hungry involves structural or social change and, more specifically, a redistribution of power. An activity in relationship to each of these points is presented here to supplement the discussion questions.

1. Food as a Basic Human Right: Two Points of View

In addition to the reflection in the essay on this Principle #1, you might present the following two reflections by Franklin D. Roosevelt and David Stockman (President Reagan's director of the Office of Management and Budget) and have students discuss why they think the two men hold the viewpoints that they do, with which of the two they most agree and why:

Points Of View

"The test of our progress is not whether we add more to the abundance of those who have more; it is whether we provide enough for those who have too little."—**President Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jan. 20, 1937, at his second inauguration.**

From PARADE 5/25/81

"I don't believe that there is any entitlement, any basic right to legal services or any other kind of services, and the idea that's been established over the last 10 years that almost every service that someone might need in life ought to be provided, financed by the government as a matter of basic right, is wrong. We challenge that. We reject that notion."—**David Stockman, director of the Office of Management and Budget, March 22, 1981, on ABC-TV's "Issues and Answers."**

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2. Anti-hunger work means structural change, a redistribution of power

One of the clearest examples of how hunger is rooted in present structures, both on the national and international levels, is the issue of the International Monetary Fund's "austerity conditions" imposed on Third World countries that go deeper and deeper into debt because of the inequitable terms of trade and other aspects of the present international economic order. A graphic statement of how the IMF increases hunger is presented in the "Bread, Justice, and Trade" excerpts in the unit on "Global Poverty and Development", pp. 71-3. The inserted statement is entitled "The IMF and Hunger: Peru's Babies are Dying". You might read or duplicate this statement and discuss it with the students as part of their reflection on Principle #3 especially.

F. Activities and Actions -- Based on the "Hunger Principles" Essay

1. With Principle #1 -- Food as a Basic Human Right

-- Discussion questions: Use the questions with the Roosevelt and Stockman quotations in section E above and questions #1 and #2 following the essay, to focus directly on the issue of food as a right.

-- Budget comparisons: Have older students compare how much the federal government spends each year on hunger programs (both in the US and overseas) compared with spending for the military. Domestic hunger programs include the Food Stamp Program, the WIC (Women with Infants and CHildren) Program, the School Lunch Program. World hunger programs include the Food for Peace Program, bi-lateral economic development aid, and contributions to international agencies like the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD), UNICEF, and the Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO). Calling the Interfaith Action for Economic Justice toll-free hotline (800-424-7292) or Bread for the World would provide this data quickly. With the US military budget approaching $300 billion a year, while hunger increases in the US, what does this say about the "Right to Food" Resolution passed by Congress in 1976?

Concerning the Redistribution of Food:

-- Curtailing waste: Ask students to remember the last food they wasted (didn't eat or threw away), why it was wasted (eyes bigger than stomach?), and what could it have been used for (share, eat later, compost, etc.) Invite them to keep a "waste diary" in which they write about what they waste daily. Schools should be quite concerned about the extent of waste. Have a "free food table" where students can put any food they don't want that day for others who are stil hungry. This need not be seen as a "poor" table for some students may forget their lunch money and others are hungrier on certain days. Students who don't have money for adequate meals can also be fed in this way. "Garbage to Gold" - students could take waste from school to make compost and use the compost on a class or school garden (see below).

-- Distributing Food Store Left-overs: In some places, students have begun to contact local food stores (bakeries are a good place to start) to see what they do with their left-over food. They find that most of it is thrown out. Encourage the stores to find ways of sharing it with the hungry. Help them to find such ways and perhaps assist in the distribution. Support legislation efforts like a bill introduced in the California legislature requiring such stores to seek out ways of distributing their surplus food. Younger students could do this with one of their parents, which would be a way of getting parents involved. Check with the fast food restaurants regarding what they do with precooked hamburgers and other items that are not sold within a specified maximum period of time.

-- Eating more simply and sharing the savings: Many ways are possible here, including a periodic "poverty meal" (see section A for several), students stationing themselves at a school soda machine and encouraging would-be buyers to use the drinking fountain and donate the savings.

-- Vegetable Gardens: Besides providing food at lower cost and putting us in touch with the earth, gardens offer community-building possibilities, for schools, churches, neighborhoods. Some groups have turned a part of their land into a community vegetable garden. Others have organized a "pairing" scheme whereby apartment dwellers and others without access to land paired with people who had the possibility of a garden and who were interested in someone else working it with them. In India, the children in "Gandhian" elementary schools grow many of their own vegetables.

-- "Meals on Wheels": Most communities have some kind of program whereby a hot meal is brought to a number of elderly shut-ins each day. One program director has recommended that high school (or junior high) students accompany each meal to visit with the elderly person receiving it (instead of a driver merely dropping off a dozen meals at a time). Perhaps each student participating could do this once a week. Visiting the same person weekly could build up a real concern and bond. Hopefully, this concern would spread to concern about other hungry people and to some of the roots of hunger in this country. Perhaps a primary student could work with older students - with the older students preparing the younger one, planning what they can do while visiting and for follow-up events.

-- "Missiles vs. Meals": You might want to invite a speaker to address this issue with your class. Someone from the local chapter of Bread for the World, or another national organization might be helpful. With or without a speaker, invite your students to write their legislators about this issue of national budget priorities. Primary grades might want to do a group letter. Letters are especially important in early spring when Congress is working out the federal budget priorities.

-- Local Food Pantries: Especially in winter when fuel bills are enormous, the hungry in the US turn to local emergency food distribution centers or pantries. Collecting food and money for these centers is always helpful. Support for the global efforts of relief agencies like Oxfam-America, CROP, and others is also never out of season.

Concerning the Redistribution of the Means of Producing Food

-- Land Use Measures: Using the personnel and written resources of groups like Bread for the World, National Land for People, National Catholic Rural Life Conference, Earthwork, and others, we can investigate and contact our legislators (locally as well as nationally) about urging preventive action on strip-mining good farmland, on intensive chemical agriculture which is burning out the soil, on urban and industrial expansion into prime agricultural areas, and other dimensions of the land use question. AVs like DISCOVER AMERICA (slide/tape presentation from National Land for People) and WHEN THE ALMSGIVING STOPS (sponsored by the Presidential Commission on World Hunger and available fromKey Light, 4266 Balfour Ave., Oakland, CA 95610) on the importance of land ownership with its implications for food production and distribution, highlight these issues and suggest action options.

-- Empowering small farmers: Each year since World War II, an average of about 100,000 family farmers have left their farms in the US. Giant agribusiness corporations control more and more of the world's food production and especially marketing. Each aspect of the food industry is controlled by a few, usually three or four, corporations. For example, four corporations control more thatn 90% of the breakfast cereal industry. Four others dominate the coffee industry (see p. 87) Three have the soft drink industry sewn up. Have students research these industries and specific corporations. To help small farmers, buy directly from them -- through local food coop stores or open-air farmers markets.

-- Land reform measures: Again, this means mostly a legislative approach, urging Congress and the President to develop a foreign policy (including foreign aid legislation) that supports such efforts in Third World countries and that stops supporting repressive governments that continually frustrate such efforts. Our contact and support of Third World support groups are helpful(see unit on "Global Interdependence", pp. 112-113 and the Philippine, El Salvador and Nicaragua case studies, pp. 83, 143, and 158.

Concerning Changes toward a Life-style of Stewardship:

-- Have parents and children consider breaking their addition to "brand names" by comparing nutrient values and prices. Local food co-ops are excellent sources for such information. Lower grades may just want to consider one item, such as breakfast cereals.

-- Have your students study TV food commercials (and commercials about the "good life" in general). Help them see how they can be manipulated. Discuss the commercials in class. Find and recommend more nutritious eating places instead of those that are most popular. See the unit on "Advertising and Stewardship" in Volume I.

-- HAMBURGER USA is a 1981 28-minute, 2-part filmstrip (from American Friends Service Committee, 2160 Lake St., San Francisco, CA 94121, $60) that examines the economic concentration in the food industry and ways to be more self-sustaining; for high school and older.

2. Principle #2: The poor are more than poor.

-- Recall the lives of Mr. and Mrs. C.(p. 32) and the three women depicted in the "Women and Food" (pp. 33-34) essay, and have students discuss their relative capabilities as people. In fact, you might have the students reflect on the ingenuity required of people who survive with so few apparent resources.

-- Show the 5-minute Maryknoll film FACES OF THE THIRD WORLD, and ask the students to list all the characteristics of Third World people shown in the film. Have them do this in small groups, to increase their perceptions. Then make a composite class list. You might have them do the same thing with hunger posters and appeals (you could write the various church and governmental agencies dealing with hunger - the United Nations Development Program has a set of posters that are available free and are good examples of mostly negative images of Third World peoples). Ask them to answer this question: what do these films, posters, etc., say about hungry people? What do the people who made the films, posters, etc., seem to think about the poor? What effect(s) do these images have on those who see them? Are these effects good or bad?

-- You might then show a film depicting the poor in their richness, in their struggle to build their own lives and society. Many of the Maryknoll films are excellent in this regard. Write also to California Newsreel (630 Natoma, San Francisco, CA 94101) for their list of films about Third World peoples or to Icarus Films (200 Park Ave. South, New York, NY 10003).

-- Making helping relationships more mutual: Some of the most popular hunger actions like food baskets and food collections for food distribution centers are difficult to make mutual, since they are generally "one-shot" efforts. If a longer term commitment can be set up, then the relationship can become more mutual. For instance, an advisory board for food collection and distribution could be set us. Its membership could consist of 50% representatives from the recipient families and individuals. In poor as well as wealthy areas, a toy exchange could be set us at gift-giving times. Further, families can be paired with other families in a year-round relationship, perhaps as part of two groups pairing. Common activities, especially outside both homes, should be at least as numerous as helping activities, and the helping should be mutual as much as possible. Exchange between two schools or groups should also be part of this endeavor. Mutual school activities, adult education programs, family outings, exchanges of musical or dramatic performances, exchanges of teachers are all possibilities here.

-- Overseas pairing: See unit on "Global Interdependence", pp. 112.

-- Promotion of local resources: we can encourage the use of local resources (technology, goods, talents) and discourage the dependence on unnecessary and inappropriate foreign resources by challenging those multinational corporations involved in such activities (see the infant formula example in the next unit, p. 55 and supporting local self-help efforts. Buying the handicrafts of Third World artisans is one such way (see the unit on Global Interdependence," and the story of Santiago Alonzo in the "Case Study on the Philippines").

3. Principle #3: Overcoming hunger means a redistribution of power.

Since this principle is a major issue in the following unit on "Global Poverty and Development," we suggest postponing extensive consideration of it until then. At this point, you might use the one suggestion in Section E above -- on the "IMF and Hunger: Peru's Babies Are Dying".

4. Principle #4: Action is a matter of justice, not charity.

Since this principle is the focus of the unit on "Global Interdependence", we suggest postponing its consideration until then, with the exception of discussion questions #6 and #7 following the essay.

MR. AND MRS. C

"A young couple in St. Louis, with a five year old son, Mr. and Mrs. C found St. Henry's Community Center in the phone book. They were desperate. Mr. C. had recently been laid off from his $ 3.35/hour part-time service station job. Now they were out of food. Their gas had been cut off. Union Electric and the phone company were threatening to do the same. Mrs. C. had found a job as a part-time waitress, but all that money went to their absentee landlord to cover the $150/month rent for their dilapidated dwelling. Over the next few weeks, the parish worker brought over several emergency food vouchers and advised Mrs. C. on how to apply for assistance.

"Within two months, Mrs. C qualified for $100/month of food stamps and $177 /month of welfare assistance, as she had contracted pneumonia and could not work. The gas had been turned back on, thanks to Mr. C's two months of unemployment compensation. And Mrs. C's first $177 welfare check covered the electric bills. But there was nothing left. The phone was gone. There was nothing to supplement the $24/week for food. They were hungry.

"With Christmas came a food basket, but also winter. How far will their $177 welfare check go each month - their total income, as Mr. C still cannot find work? Their gas bill alone will be more than $150/month and rent is $150. Will they survive winter? This is a question millions of hungry people in this country ask."

Write out your answers to the following questions:

1. Will they survive the winter?

2. If so, how?

3. Why are they hungry?

"WOMEN AND FOOD: Personal Perspectives on a Global Problem"

(reprinted from "Ways and Means of Teaching About World Order", #20, January, 1976, with the permission of the Institute for World Order, 777 United Nations Plaza, New York, New York 10017)

The Experience of Pumla Njenga, Kenya

Pumla Njenga was married at 15. She bore her first child at 16 and has borne 9 children, 6 of whom still live. Her husband went to the city to find work two years ago. He rarely returns to the village and seldom sends any money home.

Pumla produces almost all the family food in the fields about a mile from their village home. She wakes in the early light before the dawn and without breakfast, straps her baby to her back and walks that mile to the field, where she works for 10 hours, stopping midway in hard physical labor to eat a bit of bread or dried vegetable. The work is physically demanding, as is the labor of all subsistence farmers, who work with a few very simple tools. Some of the young men in her village have gone to attend an agricultural training course to learn more efficient methods. Pumla thought of going, but women were not asked to apply.

Food comes to the Njenga home in its most raw and natural state. For example, grains must be pounded by hand, consuming about 2 hours of Pumla's day. Before her little girls, ages 5 and 7, were old enough to collect and carry firewood, Pumla also did that. It took about 1 hour to get the wood for the cooking fire. In the early evening after pounding the grain, Pumla goes to fetch water, a journey of another mile each way, which takes her roughly 1 hour. Some women in East Africa spend up to 6 hours a day carrying water.

Food is served mainly in wooden bowls. Small children and men - in this case, Pumla's father-in-law - are served first, the older children next, and Pumla herself eats whatever is left afterthe rest of the family has eaten. The meal is not a social occasion nor a period of family conversation and sharing. Pumla works hard to keep her family alive and is too tired for such pasttimes.

The family consumes little or no protein and few vitamins. By and large, they are malnourished, especially Pumla, who spends so much of her energy in physical labor and whose body is worn from childbirth.

The Experience of Maria Carlucci, Naples, Italy

Maria Carlucci was married at 18. She bore her first child at 19, and has borne 6 children, all of whom are living. Her husband usually works at odd jobs, but recently there is little work. He is deeply disturbed at not providing income and has left the family. Maria now does domestic work fairly regularly, but cannot receive public assistance as only male heads of families are eligible.

Most of the Carlucci family food is purchased with a little money Maria brings from her domestic duties. Because the income varies from day to day, the food is purchased daily. Maria goes to several markets in and around the poor section of Naples on her way home from work or in the afternoon. Getting the food usually takes her about 2 hours. Like other women in her culture and class, she is responsible for preparing food for the younger children and the working men of the family. Older children are given a small share of whatever money there is and are expected to shift for themselves. These youngsters live by their wits in the streets.

Maria does all the cooking in the evening on two small gas burners. There is no oven in the home and sometimes one evening's cooking must last several days. Maria, like Pumla, serves the small children and the men first. Her widowed father and unmarried brother live with the family. There are plates and forks for everyone and spoons for the small children. The meal is not a family occasion with the very special exception of Sunday when the family spends the whole day together preparing and eating the one main meal.

Maria's main concern is to provide enough food to fill the stomachs of her family. This consists mainly of pasta, little meat, rarely vegetables and hardly ever fruit. Three of Maria's children suffer from rickets.

The Experience of Sally Wilson, Stamford, Connecticut, U.S.A.

Sally was married at 21. She bore her first child at 23. She has 3 children, all of whom are living. Her husband is an engineer who formerly earned $22,000 a year, but he is now unemployed.

Sally used to buy all the food once a week in one supermarket and did some of the staples shopping only once a month. She markets daily in various stores, going where there are sales and where food stamps are accepted. Obtaining food stamps consumes on an average about 2 hours a week of Sally's time. Shopping sometimes takes up to 2 hours a day now rather than 2 hours a week.

Sally uses fewer frozen and prepared foods now. She spends much more time peeling vegetables and making casseroles and other budget dishes. Sally used to prepare breakfast and dinner for the entire family, and the children were given money for hot lunches at school. Now all the meals are jointly prepared by Sally and her husband, including packing sandwiches for the children's lunch. Sally has a part-time job as a typist so she doesn't have the time she once had to spend cooking and preparing meals. She is glad that her husband is willing to help with the cooking. If he doesn't get a job soon, Sally will try to find full-time work.

Although the Wilsons eat less meat, they eat more fresh vegetables and very few "extras" like cookies and cakes. The children very often spend their lunch money on this kind of food instead of a hot lunch. They are thinner, but in fact better nourished than before. Sally's neighbor, Jane Jordan, went through this same experience when her husband first lost his job, but she is now putting on weight, reminding Sally of the woman who used to come to clean her house. Although she was poor, she was fat. So is Maria Carlucci. The Jordan's have started to eat a lot of macaroni and bulk foods. Jane and Sally worry a lot about rising food prices and their families' falling incomes. Jane recently said to Sally, "Food is going to be scarce. There are going to be wars about food soon".

Questions for Discussion

1. What seem to be the most urgent needs of each of the three women? Why are these needs unmet? In what alternative ways might these needs be fulfilled? Which of the alternatives are most possible? Why? Which alternatives are most desirable? Why?

2. Why are women's perspectives essential to solving the food crisis? What groups of people now make the important decisions about food production and distribution? What changes might be necessary to increase women's contributions to the solution?

HUNGER IS NOT A MYTH...

but myths keep us from ending hunger.

In 1974, the United Nations World Food Conference set itself a goal – "within a decade, no child will go to bed hungry . . . no human being will be stunted by malnutrition."

Today at least 400 million – some say as many as one billion – of the world's people do not get enough to eat. 20 million people, mostly children, will die this year from hunger and hunger-related diseases. Hunger is "the most prevalent and most insidious social problem" facing our cities today, according to the 1983 U.S. Conference of Mayors.

Why are the old "solutions" – increased food production, advanced agricultural technology, billions in foreign aid – not working?

One reason is that they were based on common misconceptions, not on an awareness of the underlying causes. Only when we expose these myths and get at the real causes of hunger can we take positive steps towards a world that puts food, the most basic human need, first.

MYTH 1

Scarcity

People go hungry because there's not enough food.

Fact: Enough grain is grown worldwide to provide every child, woman, and man with 3500 calories and ample protein a day, about what the average North American consumes. And this does not include all the other types of foods people eat.

More startling, enough food is grown even in countries where so many go hungry. Bangladesh, with some of the world's most fertile agricultural soil, produces enough grain alone to provide each person with about 2200 calories a day, yet 38 percent of its people get less than 1600 calories a day.

In the United States, over 20 million Americans are considered high hunger risks, while over two billion pounds of government surplus food sits in storage.

In every country where hunger is prevalent, we do find one common pattern – a powerful few wielding ever tightening control over food production and other economic resources. A UN study of 83 countries found, for example, that only 3 percent of the population owned more than 80 percent of the land.

MYTH 2

Over-population

Hunger exists where there are too many people to feed.

Fact: Surprisingly, population density does not correspond to the prevalence of hunger. Bolivia, with 45 percent of its people hungry, has six times as much cultivated land per person as China. Yet the Chinese, with only half the agricultural land per person as India, have eliminated widespread hunger.

No one should underrate the long-term consequences of rapid population growth. The error, however, is to transform population growth into the **cause** of hunger. High birth rates are a **symptom,** as in hunger itself, of the powerlessness of the poor. Where infant deaths are high due to malnutrition, many births help ensure that some survive. Where a family's survival depends on working for others, even small children can increase their family's income and often provide the sole support when parents are old.

To address rapid population growth, we must address the roots of hunger – the insecurity of people deprived of their economic rights.

MYTH 3

Increased Production

The solution to hunger is to use improved technology to produce more food.

Fact: In all too many countries – India, Mexico, the Philippines, to name a few – focussing on crop production ended up actually increasing hunger. Tractors, fertilizers, improved seeds, and irrigation in reality benefit only those who already have considerable land, access to credit and political pull. These better-off farmers then use their profits to buy out poor farmers. In India, the percentage of rural people with no land has doubled since the introduction of these new technologies twenty years ago. And the poor are doubly hurt: for the new machinery replaces human labor, creating even greater rural unemployment.

Without a just distribution of land and other resources, no matter how much more is produced, those without jobs or land are pushed deeper into hunger and poverty.

MYTH 4

Justice vs. Efficiency

Redistributing control over resources would mean even less food produced for the hungry.

Fact: Once we grasp the misuse and underuse of resources under current elite-controlled agricultural systems, it becomes hard to imagine how a more just system could be **less** efficient!

First, anti-democratic systems invariably leave much land unplanted altogether. In northeast Brazil, where the majority are hungry, the largest estates controlling most of the land cultivate only 15 percent of their holdings; the rest is grazed or left idle. Second, these systems are inefficient because the biggest operators who control the most land and the best land consistently produce less per acre than the small producers. Third, when a few control the land, returns from production are often not invested in making agriculture more productive but are squandered on luxury consumer items or invested in get-richer-quick schemes in the cities.

MYTH 5

Rich vs. Poor

Hungry people in poor countries are a threat to the high standard of living enjoyed by those in rich countries.

Fact: Terms like "rich country" and "poor country" keep us from

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seeing that hunger exists in both industrialized and underdeveloped countries. Indeed, we share a common threat with the hungry abroad: the usurping of our economic power by an ever more powerful few.

Consider the plight of most U.S. farmers. In striking parallel to their poorer counterparts abroad, small and midsized U.S. farmers are being squeezed out, not because they are inefficient but because they cannot compete with the economic resources of the largest operators.

Moreover, we in the industrialized countries are victims of the same unjust economic and political systems which force hungry people in the third world to work for low wages. As multinational corporations take advantage by moving facilities to these countries, they take jobs from American workers.

Clearly, the third world poor are not our enemies. Rather, we should be allies in a common effort to regain our rightful power to achieve secure and satisfying lives.

MYTH 6
Foreign Aid

Foreign aid is an important way to help the hungry.

Fact: Most U.S. food aid is not given but sold to third world governments that then resell it to those who can pay, depressing the incomes of poor farmers who must sell their grain to live. In Bangladesh, only 10-20 percent of food aid ever reaches the countryside, where most hunger exists.

According to a former Secretary of State, our foreign aid goes to countries "which share our strategic concerns or which are situated to improve our own diplomatic and military capabilities." Many of these countries – the Philippines, Zaire, Indonesia and El Salvador, for example – are under the rule of military dictatorships notorious for their repression of the poor.

Focusing on economic aid diverts us from the often more telling ways our government affects the hungry abroad – through military aid, through the International Monetary Fund which often mandates economic policies punishing the poor, through support for multinational corporations' intrusion into third world economies – and from seeing how our tax and consumer dollars link us to the proliferation of hunger in the third world.

MYTH 7
Good Will

Everyone wants to end hunger.

Fact: Unfortunately, many benefit from hunger. When people are hungry, they will work for very low wages. Plantation owners in the Philippines, Honduras, and Senegal benefit by paying workers $2.00 a day to produce export crops such as coffee, bananas and cotton.

Multinational corporations set up plants in Hong Kong or Malaysian free trade zones with repressive labor laws to take advantage of pittance wages to workers producing calculators, video games, baseballs and textiles for U.S. consumers.

Governments also benefit from hunger. In Africa, for example, some governments pay small farmers only 25-50 percent of the real market value of their crops to keep food prices low in the cities, adding to rural poverty and to the stagnation of African food production. And it is not unusual for the United States to use food as a political tool to influence the policies of other governments.

MYTH 8
Passivity

Hungry people are too passive and ignorant to change.

Fact: Rural sociologists have documented that the poor often understand the forces that keep them in poverty. They are deterred from acting not by laziness or ignorance, but by cultural messages that often cause the poor to blame themselves for their plight and by an accurate sense of the real power stacked against them.

In every country where people have been made hungry, there are those standing up for their rights, often at the risk of death. Four decades ago many observers doomed China to perpetual starvation, but instead the Chinese rose up to change their destiny. Even as late as 1978, most doubted that the Nicaraguans could oust their brutal dictatorship; yet 50,000 Nicaraguans were willing to die to make a new life possible for others.

People are only passive when they have no hope. From the Philippines to South Africa to Haiti, the poor are gaining hope by working together.

How can we make a difference?

If people are hungry because of unjust systems created by people, then we can be part of the solution. For the changes needed to end hunger will not be initiated by governments or experts but by ordinary people like us taking responsibility for our economic system. It's not up to us to "save the hungry" but to work together with them. Here are some concrete steps we can take:

1. Educate ourselves and others to critically question the common assumptions about hunger. Are there ways the U.S. government and corporations act against the hungry, and against the interests of people in the United States?

2. Protest U.S. military intervention and economic assistance to repressive governments which keep people poor and hungry.

3. Support alternatives for a just and sustainable agriculture in the U.S. and democratic economic and political systems everywhere which put people's food needs first.

4. Counter despair. It took hundreds of years for these misconceptions about hunger and for the concentration of economic power we are now facing to develop; our efforts to build a better world will take time as well. We don't have to start the train moving – it's already underway.

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Resource List

World Hunger: Ten Myths by Frances Moore Lappé and Joseph Collins. $2.95 paper.

Food First: Beyond the Myth of Scarcity by Frances Moore Lappé and Joseph Collins, with Cary Fowler. $3.95 paper.

Aid as Obstacle: Twenty Questions about our Foreign Aid and the Hungry by Frances Moore Lappé, Joseph Collins and David Kinley. $5.95 paper.

Diet for a Small Planet: Tenth Anniversary Edition by Frances Moore Lappé. $3.50 paper.

What Can We Do? A Food, Hunger, Land Action Guide by William Valentine and Frances Moore Lappé. $2.95 paper.

"The Four Myths of Hunger: An Evening with Frances Moore Lappé and Dr. Joseph Collins." 35-minute, full color video. ¾" – $110 postpaid. ½" – $90 postpaid.

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HUNGER: FOUR PRINCIPLES

Chapter Four in Arthur Simon's excellent book, BREAD FOR THE WORLD, begins with the statement that "people are hungry because they are poor." This insight needs to be expanded in two ways. First, the hungry are more than poor. They are capable of feeding themselves if allowed to do so. Secondly, they have not been allowed to do so because of their relative powerlessness.

Thus, to overcome hunger requires addressing the underlying economic and political powerlessness of the hungry. The only long-term solution to hunger that is consistent with the understanding of justice presented in this manual might be called "food self-reliance". All proposed measures -- short-term and long-term -- need to be evaluated in terms of this goal: How well do they further peoples' control over their own lives, especially over their basic human needs like food. Four principles for thinking about and acting on the hunger issue flow from this view of hunger and from the four components of justice. Each principle has a number of policy or strategy implications that are important for attacking hunger effectively.

JUSTICE COMPONENTS	PRINCIPLES FOR THINKING ABOUT AND ACTING ON HUNGER	POLICY IMPLICATIONS FOR COMBATTING HUNGER
Sufficient life-goods	Food is a basic human right, not a speculative commodity	Redistribution of food according to peoples' need to eat. Redistribution of the means of producing food.
Dignity or esteem	The poor are more than poor; they can help themselves	Food self-reliance policies are both possible & necessary
Participation	Poverty as essentially powerlessness Solving hunger/poverty means empowering the poor	Redistribution of (1) between rich and poor nations (2) between rich and poor within Third World nations.
Interdependence	Working to overcome hunger is a matter of justice (duty) and not charity (option)	Opposition to using food as a political weapon.

PRINCIPLE #1: FOOD IS A RIGHT, NOT A SPECULATIVE COMMODITY

Many people regard the earth's resources as gifts from God meant for the development of all peoples. We apply this notion first to food, the most basic of life-goods. In testimony before Congress in 1974, one rural life leader put it this way:

> "Although much of America's farm productivity is due to the application of advanced technology and the hard work and dedication of our farmers, it also results from the fact that this country is uniquely blessed with highly productive soil, plentiful water resources and a moderate climate. These are blessings which we in the U.S. in no way earned or deserved. They rather are gifts of creation, part of the universal ecosystem provided by God to support all of humanity. Their stewardship and development, therefore, are responsibilities we bear to the rest of humankind . . ."

That food is a right, is fundamental to the religious and ethical teaching of most groups. Now, thanks to the efforts of BREAD FOR THE WORLD members and others, this principle has now been established as the basis for U.S. food policy. This "Right to Food Resolution" declares that "the United States reaffirms the right of every person in this country and throughout the world to food and a nutritionally adequate diet".

A major implication of this principle is that food ought to be distributed more according to peoples' need to eat than their ability to pay. In most countries, including the U.S., if you have money you can get food. How much you get and how good the food is depends primarily on how much money you have. The "Food Stamp Program" modifies this somewhat. But it is still our ability to pay that determines the food we get.

In the market ("free enterprise") economies of both First and Third World countries, food unfortunately is treated primarily as a speculative commodity, as a source of private gain. The great grain companies have hoarded grain to drive up its price. Other multinational corporations have gained control of large landholdings to produce much more profitable export crops rather than food for local consumption. Government food aid has been regarded as a political weapon on many occasions.

1. Redistribution of Food

The principle that food is a right has two major policy implications. The first calls for a redistribution of food itself. Short-term emergency measures like food aid are often necessary. If used as a stimulant for local production, such aid can be quite helpful. Middle-term measures like the creation of a world food reserve help to provide a cushion for times when the supply of grain dramatically decreases. Longer-term changes in the consumption patterns of the well-fed are also important strategies for a redistribution of food. Our need to eat, rather than how much we can afford to spend, should become more and more the determining factor for how much food we consume.

2. Redistribution of the Means of Producing Food

The second and more basic policy implication is the need to redistribute the means of producing food. This means making land, credit, technical assistance, etc. available to the landless and to millions of tenant farmers and farm workers, so that they can produce their own food. So long as they remain dependent on more (and more) costly food purchases, often with less nutritional value, the world's hungry are not going to be able effectively to exercise their right to food. Nor are they able to exercise their right to shape their own destiny. "Justice" as well as "bread" requires that people have the opportunity to feed themselves. But the more that the land and other agricultural resources are controlled by the wealthy few, the more this right will be denied.

PRINCIPLE #2: THE POOR ARE MORE THAN POOR

Corresponding to the dignity component of justice is the hunger principle that the poor are more than their poverty. That is, their economic deprivation does not define their total being. Although economically deprived, the hungry are often rich in many other way. This principle has important implications.

In terms of its importance for action, if policies for food self-reliance are o be advocated and adopted, then attitudes will have to change. Both policy-makers and the general public whose attitudes often shape policies must come to realize that the poor can feed themselves if allowed to do so. Generally, the economically well-off conclude that the economically deprived are incapable of helping themselves. This is especially true in societies where personal worth is largely equated with one's position and possessions. This kind of perception leads to a view that the only answer to world hunger is a combination of First World food aid and First World technology. But it is this combination of ingredients that is often part of the problem . . .

PRINCIPLE #3: POVERTY AS POWERLESSNESS; THE NEED FOR A REDISTRIBUTION OF POWER

Corresponding to the participation component of justice is a dual principle. Stated negatively, this principle says that hunger is primarily a matter of the relative powerlessness of the hungry. Stated positively, it says that solving hunger ultimately demands the empowerment of the hungry to feed themselves. The hungry are not poor or "underdeveloped" by nature. Nor are they poor primarily because of some deficiency of resources, either personal resources and character or the human and natural resources of their country.

1. Between the Industrialized World and the Third World

The economic "rules of the game" made by the industrialized world contribute significantly to hunger. So long as international decision-making about the terms of trade and other economic issues is in the hands of the industrialized world, hunger and poverty will continue in the Third World. Once again, those who make the rules get the goods. The New International Economic Order represents a concerted effort to redistribute such decision-making power, as will be seen.

2. Within Third World Countries

Secondly, it is crucial to redistribute power within Third World countries, from the rich few to the poor majority. Justice is concerned with the rights and needs of all people, not just a few. Changes in the international economic order must be designed to promote the development of all people in the Third World. Thus, there is an urgent need to re-examine some of the very policies designed to eliminate hunger that seem to have the opposite effect. Policies like the "Green Revolution", the expansion of export cash crops like coffee, and the concentration of agricultural resources in supposedly more efficient larger-scale farming enterprises actually seem to be extending hunger, at least in many cases.

The basic problem here centers on two very different views of hunger. Some see hunger as basically a technology problem that can be solved technologically. Others disagree strongly and see hunger as a social or political problem requiring social or political solutions. In an overly simplified way, the two views line up as follows:

TECHNOLOGICAL VIEW

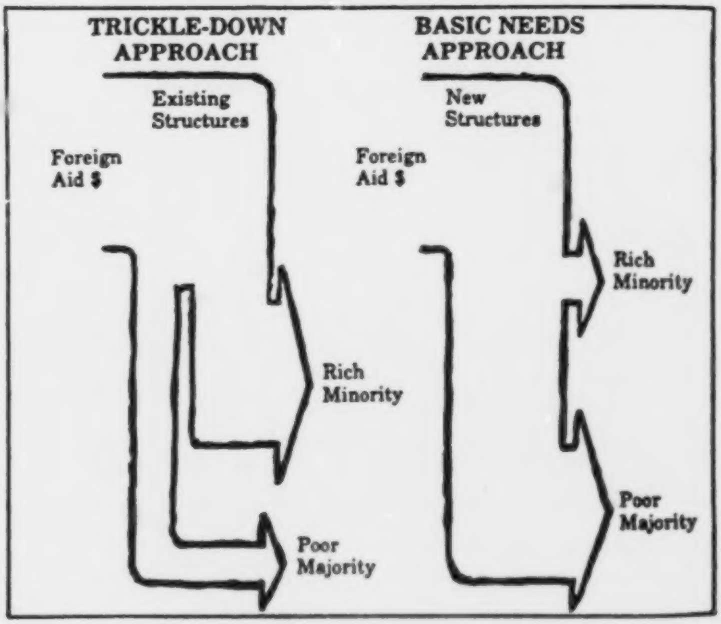
The Problem: inadequate production	The Solution: a technological revolution
Not enough food; not enough fertilizer, irrigation, modern equipment; not enough "know-how"	Produce more food: the Green Revolution More and better inputs(fertilizer, pesticides, etc.); More education. A NIEO that redistributes technology

SOCIAL-POLITICAL VIEW

The Problem: land ownership	The Solution: a social-political revolution
Land controlled by the few Producing non-essentials for profit	Land Reform Land for local food needs first
Colonial patterns of trade: export crops for financial survival	A NIEO that redistributes decision-making power in international economic and political institutions so that these institutions can be fundamentally changed.

As I see it, as long as hunger is viewed as a technological problem rather than a social-political one, the hungry will remain hungry. A redistribution of power and a redistribution of the means of producing food, rather than an increase of production within present patterns of land ownership and use need to be emphasized. When land is concentrated in the hands of a few, increasing production thru more credit, fertilizer,extension services, seeds and irrigation for the large holders of land will fatten the few and leave the many small farmers worse off.

As the chart at right indicates, funneling resources(e.g. foreign aid, Green Revolution seeds, etc. through structuresor institutions controlled by a few cannot truly benefit the many. Control over or real participation in control over such institutions or new institutions or structures altogether is essential for the majorities of people in many countriesif they are to benefit from development assistance (money, technology, expertise).



PRINCIPLE #4: ACTION IS A MATTER OF JUSTICE, NOT CHARITY

Corresponding to the solidarity component of justice is the principle that, if food is a right, working to overcome hunger is a matter of justice rather than charity. That is, we have an obligation, not an option, to work with the hungry so that they can effectively exercise their right to food.

Since hunger is a scandal (resulting from acts of human institutions) and not a scourge (an act of God), the only adequate response are the works of justice, actions directed at changing the practices and policies of human institutions contributing to hunger. We have to attack the root causes of this persistent condition. Efforts to evolve a New International Economic Order and to create new internal economic orders as well are essential to enabling the hungry to feed themselves. Finally, as part of these new economic orders, there is the need for those of us who are well-fed to evolve a just standard of living . . .

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. Do you think food is a "right", that "much of America's farm productivity. .. is a gift", as stated in the paragraph of Congressional testimony? Why or why not?

2. Should how much money you have, determine how much or how well you eat? Why or why not?

3. In the long term, why is a redistribution of the means of producing food more important than a redistribution of food itself?

4. Why do most people think that the hungry are incapable of feeding themselves? How do you feel about this and why?

5. When land is concentrated in the hands of a few land-owners or corporations, why does increasing production through more credit, fertilizer, extension services, seeds, and irrigation for the large land-owners leave the many small farmers worse off? Explain the "trickle down approach -- basic human needs approach" chart and whether you agree or disagree with it and why.

6. What does it mean to say that hunger is a "scandal, not a scourge"? Do you agree? Why or why not?

7. Do you agree that working to overcome hunger is a matter of duty (justice) rather than an option? Why or why not?

GLOBAL

POVERTY

&

DEVELOPMENT

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OUTLINE OF THE CONTENTS

TEACHER DIRECTIONS AND SPECIAL RESOURCES

I. THE REALITIES OF POVERTY

- A. Assessing Students' Understanding and Feelings about Poverty
- B. Statistics of Global Poverty
- C. What Does this Mean in More Concrete Terms?
- D. Poverty as Powerlessness
- E. Development as Participation: "The Ratched-McMurphy Model"

II. SOME CAUSES OF POVERTY

- A. Colonialism - the Past International Economic Order
- B. The Present International Economic Order
- C. Internal Causes - Inequitable, Repressive National Economic Orders

III. TWO OVERALL SOLUTIONS

- A. A New International Economic Order (NIEO)
- B. New Internal (National) Economic Orders

STUDENT READINGS:

-- "Living on Less than $200 a Year" (I-C)
-- "The Story of Mang Gener" (I-D)
-- "Shantytown Organizer" (The Story of Rosa Duenas) (I-D)
-- "The Ratched-McMurphy Model: A View From the Bottom" (I-E)
-- "Potosi Silver" (II-A)
-- "Bread, Justice and Trade" (II-B)
-- "Basic Principles of the New International Economic Order (NIEO)"(III-A)
-- Script from "Bread, Justice, and Trade" filmstrip (III-A)
-- Charts: 4 Principles of Self-Reliant Development
4 Components of Justice
Some Comparisons Between Capitalism and Socialism

CASE STUDY ON EL SALVADOR:

I. Introduction
- A. US Multinational Corporations in Central America
- B. General Foods Corporation and El Salvador
- C. Map of Central America

TEACHER DIRECTIONS

This unit is geared primarily to presenting the realities and causes of global poverty and what needs to be done by way of both a New International Economic Order and new national or internal economic orders. While the case study on El Salvador and the General Food Corporation and the infant formula issue offer some action possibilities, the action dimension of this study of global poverty and development is largely reserved for the next unit on "Global Interdependence." Thus, it is crucial to take these units together. The theoretical component of this unit draws heavily on BREAD AND JUSTICE: TOWARD A NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER, James McGinnis' program for advanced high school and college students. As such, this unit is designed for older students and adults, although many of the activities in section I on the realities of poverty would be appropriate for junior high and some middle grade students as well.

To concretize the theoretical dimension of this unit, several approaches are used. The stories of Mang Gener and Rosa Duenas personalize poverty. The "Living on Less Than $200", the "Ratched-McMurphy Model", and the "Potosi, Bolivia" readings translate poverty and powerlessness into graphic terms. The case study of El Salvador and General Foods combines the personal dimension and specificity of data with participatory student activities. The opening activities in section IA expand the personal and affective dimensions of this unit in order to deepen students' empathy and to keep them personally related to their study.

The "Ratched-McMurphy Model" is an extremely engaging option for teaching this unit. While it can be omitted, teachers have found that high school students especially will be much better able to understand the more theoretical analysis of the New International Economic Order, new internal economic orders, and the various models of development if they are able to work through this allegory. Sheldon Gellar uses the story of ONE FLEW OVER THE CUCKOO'S NEST as an analogy for explaining the two basic visions of development in the world today. "Ratched-McMurphy" (the two main characters in the story) and the discussion questions following that reading give students a chance to examine the models of development that have been operating in their own life as well as to become more objective in looking at the "Mainstream" model of development operating in the First World, especially in the US, and in much of the Third World.

The case study on General Foods and El Salvador looks not only at the inequities of the present international economic order but also at some inequities in the internal economic order in El Salvador. Because it serves as an example of both the external and internal causes of global poverty and of the need for new orders at both levels, we suggest using it either after a more general look at section II-C (on the causes of poverty) or as the conclusion to this whole unit, since it considers solutions as well as causes and invites students to action.

For teaching the comparative models of development or country case studies in section III-B, there are two options. You could use the extensive "Case Study on Nicaragua" together as a whole class, with most students participating in the research tasks identified in that case study, while those students who would prefer to do their research project on one of the other models or case studies identified in III-B (or others) do so. They could present their project to the class after the Nicaragua study and compare their case study with Nicaragua. The other option would be to do short country case studies at at this point save the Nicaragua study until after the unit on "US Foreign Policy", since the Nicaragua study includes a major section on this dimension of US foreign policy. If you decide to use the Nicaragua study at a later time, you might want to incorporate some of the data (e.g., terms of trade statistics) into your presentation of this unit as additional examples.

There is a definite value position or point of view presented in this unit. There is an understanding of development and justice outlined in the essays that underlies the analysis of the present international economic order and national economic orders and that serves as a basis for evaluating various models of development. But students are challenged to question and modify this understanding, if necessary, before considering their individual case studies in the final section. Further, the case study on General Foods and El Salvador is presented in point-counterpoint fashion and asks students to articulate their own position on the issue through a role-play of an annual stockholders meeting and other activities.

SPECIAL RESOURCES

Bibliographies

-- Thomas Fenton and Mary Heffron, THIRD WORLD RESOURCE DIRECTORY (see above, p. 7), has excellent sections on Latin American, Asian, and African countries (for the case studies section below), as well as on global poverty and development in general.

-- Susan Graff, GLOBAL EDUCATION RESOURCE GUIDE (Global Education Associates, 1981, 70 pp.) is comprehensive, covering human rights, peace, and energy issues as well as global poverty and development.

-- Latin American Working Group (P.O. Box 2207 Station P, Toronto Ontario/M5S 2T2) has an extensive bibliography/catalog, with a special focus on the issue of women and development.

For teacher (and older student) background reading

-- Richard Falk, ed.,TOWARD A JUST WORLD ORDER (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1982; 652 pp) presents the perspective/voices of the victims on the nature and possibility of global change in the areas of economic injustice, human rights, war and ecological decay.

-- Penny Lernoux, CRY OF THE PEOPLE (New York: Penguin Books, 1982; 535 pp) is a powerful treatment of poverty and human rights in Latin America, with a special focus on the conflict between US policy and the Catholic Church.

-- The many publications of the Institute for Policy Studies (write for their list of publications) including Richard Barnet and Robert Mueller's classic on multinational corporations GLOBAL REACH, Barnet's THE LEAN YEARS (analysis of basic global resources, 1980), and Orlando Letelier and Michael Moffitt, THE INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER (an excellent 1977 historical sketch of the development of the NIEO).

-- Ruth Sivard, WORLD MILITARY AND SOCIAL EXPENDITURES (from World Priorities, Box 25140, Washington, DC 20007) is an annual compilation of data with excellent charts/graphs on the realities of global poverty and its relationship to the arms race.

-- THE 1984 STATE OF THE WORLD'S CHILDREN(from UNICEF, 866 UN Plaza, New York, NY 10017) is a 40-page report on children as victims of poverty, on a 4-part program to reduce infant mortality significantly, with numerous charts and 16 short pieces on specific countries and projects that are at least partially successful in reducing poverty among children.

-- NORTH-SOUTH: A PROGRAM FOR SURVIVAL (The Report of the Independent Commission on International Development Issues under the Chairmanship of Willy Brandt; Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1980) and RESHAPING THE INTERNATIONAL ORDER (The Club of Rome Report, headed by Jan Tinbergen; E.P. Dutton, 1976) are two prestigious reports supporting the vision and suggestions in this unit and BREAD AND JUSTICE.

-- The many publications of the Overseas Development Council (write for their list of publications) including their yearly THE U.S. AND WORLD DEVELOPMENT: AGENDA FOR ACTION, THIRD WORLD SPEAK OUT (1979), BEYOND DEPENDENCY: THE DEVELOPING WORLD SPEAKS OUT, and particularly their summary version of Mahbub ul Haq's THE POVERTY CURTAIN (entitled THE THIRD WORLD AND THE INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER, 1976).

Alternative or supplementary sources of classroom activities

-- DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION MATERIALS from UNICEF offers various free and low cost materials on global economics and development for elementary teachers.

-- The Center for Teaching International Relations at the University of Denver has a number of teacher manuals for grades 6-12, including TEACHING ABOUT POPULATION GROWTH (1977), TEACHING GLOBAL AWARENESS WITH SIMULATIONS AND GAMES (1981), and TEACHING GLOBAL AWARENESS USING THE MEDIA (1981); for grades 9-12, GLOBAL ISSUES: ACTIVITIES AND RESOURCES AND THE HIGH SCHOOL TEACHER (1979); for grades 1-6, TEACHING GLOBAL AWARENESS: AN APPROACH FOR GRADES 1-6; and COMPARATIVE WORLD ISSUE FOR GRADES K-12.

-- GLOBAL KALEIDOSCOPE, SIMULATION EXERCISES FOR THE CLASSROOM, compiled by George Otero (from the UNA-St. Louis, 7359 Forsyth, St. Louis, MO. 63105)

For student reading

-- Margaret White and Robert Quigley, eds., HOW THE OTHER THIRD LIVES (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1977, 437 pp) is an anthology of poems, songs, stories, essays and prayers by Asian, African and Latin American poets and writers.

-- Many of the booklets (approximately 50-60 pages) in the HEADLINE SERIES from the Foreign Policy Association focus on global economic issues. Write for a complete listing..

-- Thomas Fenton, COFFEE: THE RULES OF THE GAME AND YOU (revised edition; The Christophers, 48 East 12th Street, New York, NY 10003; limited copies from our Institute); excellent pamphlet on how the economic "rules of the game" help cause global poverty.

-- THE TRADE DEBATE (Government Printing Office, Washington, DC, 1978) offers a U.S. Department of State perspective on trade issues; a good summary, some history and excellent graphs.

For regular updating

-- ICDA NEWS is a 4 to 8-page monthly newsletter from the International Coalition for Development Action (rue des Bollandistes 22, 1040 Brussels, Belgium; US subscriptions through Non-Governmental Liaison Service, Room DC2-1103, United Nations, New York, NY 10017) covering the global economic agenda.

-- Three excellent magazines are THE MULTINATIONAL MONITOR (monthly critical analysis of multinational corporations; from P.O. Box 19312, Washington, DC 20036); THE NEW INTERNATIONALIST (monthly analysis of one in a range of global issues; from Oxfam & Christian Aid, England; subscribe in the U.S. from 113 Atlantic Avenue, Brooklyn, NY 11201; and REPORT ON THE AMERICAS (bi-monthly radical critique, particularly of U.S. involvement in Latin America) from the North American Congress on Latin America (NACLA).

-- WORLD DEVELOPMENT FORUM is a 4-page bi-weekly report of facts, trends and opinion from the Hunger Project (1629 K St. NW, Suite 500, Washington DC 20009).

-- DEVELOPMENT FORUM is the UN Center for Economic and Social Information 16-page monthly, reporting developments on the UN global economic agenda. Free. Write CESI, Office of Public Information, United Nations, NY 10017.

GLOBAL POVERTY AND DEVELOPMENT

GOALS

To gain a more concrete sense of the reality and consequences of poverty.

To understand that poverty is basically a matter of powerlessness..

To see the need for both a New International Economic Order and new internal or national economic orders.

I. THE REALITIES OF POVERTY

A. Assessing Students' Understanding and Feelings about Poverty

1. Before the study begins: In order to find out students' initial concepts of poverty, assign a clustering activity: in the center of a blank sheet of paper, the students write POVERTY. For 10-minutes, they write and circle each word or phrase which comes to mind. At the end of the 10-minutes, the students can write one sentence which sums up their concept of poverty. These can be shared.

2. During the unit, classroom activities might include:

-- A wall mural -- students cut pictures from magazines which represent poverty and prosperity. A mural (pictures glued to newsprint or butcher paper) representing poverty and one representing prosperity can hang in the classroom as visuals during the unit.

-- Sensory couplets -- using the 6 senses (hearing, seeing, touching, tasting, smelling, and feeling) students can write couplets; i.e. Poverty smells like ...; Prosperity smells like...

-- Shape and color images -- it is always helpful to have students draw the images in their minds as they investigate issues such as global poverty.

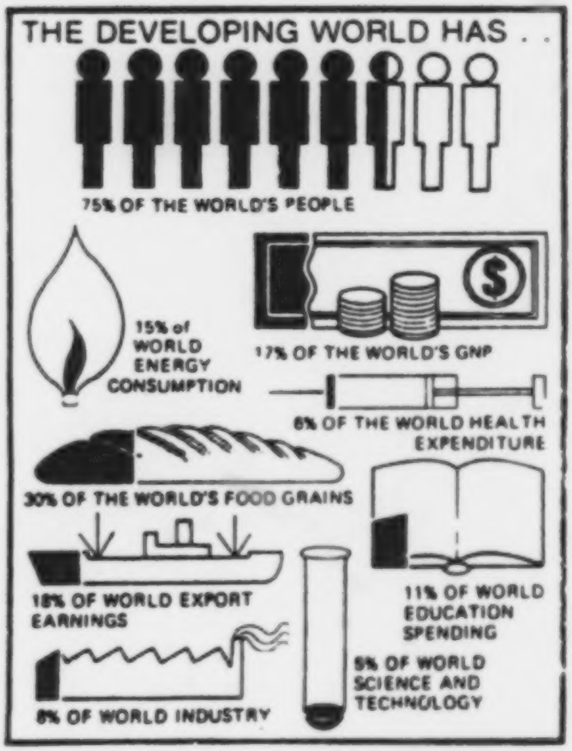
-- Ten-minute sustained writings daily -- these ground the student in his/her own situation, (a subtle backdrop to the unit on global poverty). Topics might be: my favorite possession, a trip to the doctor/hospital, my educational history; what I do with my leisure time; a good vacation; my closet or wardrobe; how many cans I open a day; me and my snack, etc.

-- A contrast essay -- this might be a culminating activity contrasting urban poverty with rural poverty; and developed countries with the developing countries; the life of a student here with that of a student from a developing country.

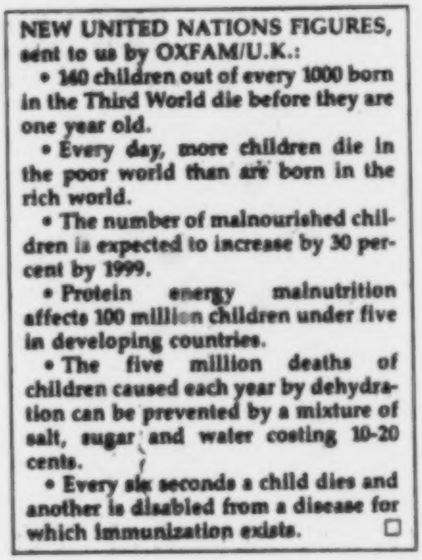
-- "The Children Cry Activity" -- on 5 pieces of paper shaped like tears, write each of the following: "I'm crying because I'm blind. The doctors say it is caused from not eating food with Vitamin A in it. I live in Pakistan." "My name is Zamani. I'm crying because I must walk 2 hours one way to get water for my family. I do this three times a day. The water is contaminated, but we drink it anyway. It is all we have." "I am from Zola. I cry because I go to bed hungry every night." "My name is Billy. I'm crying because my Mom has to work so hard and so long. I never get to see her." "My name is Susie. I live in America. I'm crying because my Mom will not take me to the movies."Distribute the tears and have the students read them aloud. Discuss reasons why children around the world cry. Give each student 2 blank tears -- or older students can draw and cut their own. On one tear, write or draw a personal reason for crying. On the other, write or draw a reason why someone in another country might be crying. Students may read aloud their tears and then display them all in the room. Repeat, using smiles or laughter.

Follow-up -- discuss how children from one country might alleviate the crying of children from another country. Or, how can children share their laughter tears or smiles with one another across the world. Pen pals might be initiated here.

B. Statistics of Global Poverty



(from the World Bank's annual YEARBOOK
1818 H St. NW, Washington, DC 20433)


NEW UNITED NATIONS FIGURES, sent to us by OXFAM/U.K.:

- 140 children out of every 1000 born in the Third World die before they are one year old.
- Every day, more children die in the poor world than are born in the rich world.
- The number of malnourished children is expected to increase by 30 percent by 1999.
- Protein energy malnutrition affects 100 million children under five in developing countries.
- The five million deaths of children caused each year by dehydration can be prevented by a mixture of salt, sugar and water costing 10-20 cents.
- Every six seconds a child dies and another is disabled from a disease for which immunization exists.

(from Oxfam America News, June 1984; see Ruth Sivard's annual WORLD MILITARY AND SOCIAL EXPENDITURES book for its excellent charts and data, particularly the links between poverty and militarism.

C. What does this mean in more concrete terms?

1. Facts and statistics: have students study the statistics above and then discuss Ruth Sivard's comment about her statistics: "Behind every number is a human being with a relatively limited time on this earth. How each person lives is as important as how soon each leaves it. Too many live out lives in utter misery and despair."

2. FACES OF THE THIRD WORLD is a 7-minute Maryknoll film depicting both economically poor people throughout the Third World and ignorance about the Third World among Westerners. Caution: while graphically displaying their poverty, the film fails to display the beauty of many people who are economically poor.

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3. "Living on Less Than $200 a Year" (see p. 59) is another way to make poverty more concrete. You might duplicate it for each student to read or have students close their eyes and imaginatively follow the instructions as they "strip" their own home to correspond with a common Third World reality. Use the discussion questions at the bottom of the essay for class reflection. As the author, Robert Heilbroner, says in his introduction to the essay in THE GREAT ASCENT (Harper and Row, 1963; and reprinted with permission of the publisher) -- "To begin to understand economic development, we must have a picture of the problem with which it contends. We must conjure up in our mind's eye what underdevelopment means for the two billion human beings for whom it is not a statistic but a living experience of daily life.... It is not easy to make this mental jump. But let us attempt it by imagining how a typical American family, living in a small suburban house, could be transformed into an equally typical family of the underdeveloped world".

4. "The Story of Mang Gener" (see p. 60 below) tries to concretize poverty, as well as point out some of its causes, in the life of one Filipino family. Duplicate the page for students, have them read it, discuss the questions following the article, and discuss the short analysis at the bottom. You might rent the AGRIBUSINESS GOES BANANAS slide presentation from which the story was taken, to show instead of having students readthe excerpts. The visual impact is much stronger and you get a fuller picture of Mang Gener, the banana corporations, and Philippine poverty. Available from both Earthwork and the Institute for Food and Development Policy.

5. Poverty and its impact on women -- you might recall the two-page selection on "Women and Food" in the unit on "World Hunger" above in which poverty was made more concrete in the lives of three women and their families or you could save this aspect of poverty until the discussion of the story of Rosa Duenas in the next section.

6. Simulations -- are an excellent way to concretize reality. Among many possible simulations, you might use "Spaceship Earth" (in the unit on "Global Interdependence" below) or the "World War Game" for the relationship between poverty and war (see the unit on "War" below). Both of these simulations move from an experience of the consequences of poverty to a glimpse of some of the causes of poverty.

D. Poverty as Powerlessness

1. "The Story of Mang Gener", a Filipino peasant, raises the whole question of power and powerlessness and should have enabled students to see how much poverty and powerlessness go together. Their answers to the question "why is Mang Gener poor?", their discussion of Mang Gener and other poor as "the victims of the concentration of power", and the frustration they probably experienced in trying to answer question #3 -- "What would you have done if you were Mang Gener?" -- all should have revealed the relative but not total powerlessness of the poor.

2. "The Story of Rosa Duenas""(Shantytown Organizer" article) -- this same realization is experienced in the life and reflections of this urban Peruvian woman. But her example also helps to break down the stereotype of the poor as passive victims. She is poor and relatively powerless, but discovers and communicates the power that comes from organizing and working together. Have students read her reflections and then discuss the questions. For question #5 on the "spiral of violence", you might use the visual representation of this spiral in the case study on General Foods and El Salvador (see p.90); also see unit on "Institutional Violence" in Volume I.

E. Development as Participation: "The Ratched-McMurphy Model" (pp. 63-67)

The flip side of viewing poverty or underdevelopment as powerlessness is a view of "development" primarily in terms of the empowerment of the poor, the "participation" component of justice (see the charts in the essays in this unit and the "Hunger: Four Principles" essay in the unit on "Hunger"). This view of development can be expressed in these terms:

Development is much more than having a higher material standard of living, although the basic economic necessities of life are certainly a part. Dignity (personal and cultural) and participation (maximizing individuals' role in shaping their own personal and societal destinies) are crucial. Solidarity/interdependence too - individuals and societies are developed to the extent that they are cooperative within and without; that is, broadening peoples' awareness of and working with other individuals, communities, and societies in achieving these other basic human rights.

Activities

1. Characteristics of development - initial opinions: Ask each student to write out a list of all the characteristics of a country that they would consider to be "developed" and a parallel list of characteristics of a country that they would consider to be "underdeveloped". Have the students share their lists in small groups. Have them share the most important characteristics of each of their two lists with the whole class, as the teacher writes them on the board or newsprint. Have the class speak to the posted list, noting points of agreement and disagreement. Perhaps the areas of disagreement can be clarified and identified for testing during the period of study (that is, see what light the classes and reading and action to follow will shed on these areas of disagreement).

2. "The Ratched-McMurphy Model" This fascinating allegory comparing Third World poverty with life in some of our mental institutions reveals how much poverty or "underdevelopment" is rooted in powerlessness and how the dependency of the Third World is rooted in the "development" of the First World and its "Mainstream" development model. Author Sheldon Gellar takes the book (by Ken Keyes) and film ONE FLEW OVER THE CUCKOO'S NEST and presents the main characters R.P. McMurphy (played by Jack Nicholson) and Nurse Ratched as representatives of Third World liberation efforts and the First World mainstream or capitalist model of development. In teaching this allegory:

-- If at all possible, show the film to the class (unless there is time for students to read the book published by Signet Books). For older students, duplicate and have them read Gellar's essay below.

-- Have the class describe the various aspects of the Ratched model of Development and then the McMurphy model (and post these). Be sure to have them discuss the world series episode, the card game, and the basketball events in the McMurphy model. In each case, the "beneficiaries of development" attempt to become the "agents of their development" by remaking the rules. (see Discussion Questions #1 and #5). Clarification questions on the essay would seem to come naturally during this step.

-- Once the students have a clear sense of the two different models, have them draw parallels to their own lives (Discussion Questions #1,#2, and #3).

-- Once they have been able to identify personally with the different approaches to development, ask them to draw parallels to national and international situations. Perhaps this analogy can best be used to illustrate the participation component of development/justice. (see Discussion Questions #4, #5, #6).

II. SOME CAUSES OF POVERTY

A. Colonialism - the past international economic order

Without ascribing the cause of current global poverty solely to the colonial practices of First World countries, we can still list colonialism as one fundamental cause of poverty. The essay on "Potosi Silver", originally part of a longer essay entitled "Development and Underdevelopment: Two Sides of the Same Coin" (written and distributed and reprinted here with the permission of Development Education Center in Toronto, Ontario), shows how interrelated wealth and poverty are and in very concrete terms. Duplicate the essay, have the class read it and discuss the questions at the end, and incorporate, if possible, the following data and activities:

"The Treasure of the Concepcion"

In the summer of 1980, the Shedd Aquarium in Chicago featured an exciting exhibit on "The Treasure of the Concepcion", which included a movie that was originally a TV documentary. In late November 1978, after centuries of searching, the silver-laden galleon was found. As the booklet THE TREASURE OF THE CONCEPCION, published by the Shedd Aquarium in 1980, describes this adventure:

> "In July 1641, a large Spanish treasure galleon set sail from Vera Cruz with the Fleet of New Spain bound for Seville. After delays in Havana, the fleet proceeded through the Florida Straits. It was late September now, well into the hurricane season. At the northern end of the Straits a violent storm struck, scattering the ships and severely damaging the Concepcion. The admiral gave orders to steer southeast to Puerto Rico for repairs in the shipyard there. Enroute, through the blundering of pilots, the great ship was wrecked on a remote, wind-swept, ocean reef. Many lives and all the treasure aboard were lost. That tragedy has bequeathed to our age one of the richest historical treasures taken from the sea...." (pp. 1-2)
>
> More than 60,000 separate silver coins were recovered, plus many more in clumps. Further describing the sources of this treasure, the booklet relates how these coins were minted or struck by hand:
>
> "By the time the Concepcion sailed, mints had been established at Santo Domingo, Mexico City, Lima, Potosi, Cartagena and (Santa Fe de Bogota. The mints at Santo Domingo and Cartagena were short-lived, but those of Mexico City, Lima, and Potosi coined enormous numbers of coins from the silver of nearby mines. Millions of pieces of eight were coined annually at these mints, a remarkable feat of labor". (p. 6)

Watching the movie, walking through the exhibit, reading the booklet only stir a sense of adventure and thrill. They do not lead one to reflect on the sources of this great treasure. The treasure may have been "taken from the sea" in 1978, but it was first taken from the Native peoples and lands of the Americas centuries before, at enormous cost to both.

Taking your class to the exhibit if possible (it travels; inquire at the Shedd Aquarium, Lake Shore Drive, Chicago, IL) or securing and showing the movie and/or the booklet might be a stimulating way of introducing not only the reading on "Potosi Silver". This might provide an excellent opportunity for raising the issue of what our museums as well as history books do not tell us -- in other words, a selectivity process that often excludes or underplays the "underside" of history and how such selectivity shapes the consciousness of people.

B. The Present International Economic Order

1. An Allegorical Critique: "Ratched-McMurphy" Recall the "Ratched-McMurphy Model" for students and have them name all the ways in which the author critiques the present international economic order in that allegory. These should include the items described in paragraphs 3 - 6 in the essay. Post the list and ask students to discuss each point and whether they think the criticism is fair. After soliciting these intitial opinions, ask students to write down their individual opinions (in their journal, if they are keeping one) and check them against the information they will consider in the more theoretical analysis that follows.

2. Inequitable Trade Practices: The theoretical statement of the problem is presented below in the excerpts from the script of the filmstrip BREAD, JUSTICE AND TRADE, taken from the BREAD AND JUSTICE program (see Part II of the book for a more complete picture). In terms of presenting this information, consider the following activities:

-- As a preliminary activity to connect students experientally (unless already done as part of the "Hunger" unit) with world trade, you might encourage them to go to a local supermarket or their kitchen pantry and make a list of all the foods that come from other countries, in either their processed or raw state. Ask students to identify the particular countries from which the food(s) come, whenever possible. The FOREIGN AGRICULTURAL TRADE STATISTICAL REPORT is a free US Department of Agriculture publication that lists all commodities imported by the US and where they come from.

-- Show the first 32 frames of the filmstrip BREAD, JUSTICE AND TRADE and/or duplicate the excerpts below, with the graphs and discussion questions, and have students read the excerpts and discuss the questions. Be sure to focus especially on the "IMF and Hunger" insert, as this makes the issue concrete.

-- For a good short piece on how the International Monetary Fund operates, its impact on the poor, and what changes are necessary, as well as for action suggestions on the whole issue, contact the Interfaith Action For Economic Justice (110 Maryland Ave. NE, Washington, DC 20002) and its February 1980 "Hunger Series #22 and any updates.

3. The Practices of Multinational Corporations

General Treatment: Again, use BREAD AND JUSTICE for a more extensive treatment of this dimension of the present international economic order. For a short general treatment, before focusing on either of the case studies below, you might use the filmstrip BREAD, JUSTICE, AND MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS and some of the activities listed in the filmstrip guide.

Infant Formula as a Case Study

One of the issue focused on in the filmstrip BREAD, JUSTICE, AND MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS (and the whole of Chapter 12 in BREAD AND JUSTICE) is the problem of marketing infant formula to poor women in the Third World, women without the means of buying adequate amounts, of sterilizing bottles, of securing pure water, and women who are generally able to breastfeed their infants. The Infant Formula Action Coalition (INFACT, 310 E. 38th St., Minneapolis, MN 55409; 612-825-6837) organized a boycott of Nestle, the largest distributor of infant formula in the Third World. In early 1984, after 7 years of extensive grassroots involvement in the US and around the world, Nestle agreed to alter its marketing practices to comply with the World Health Organization/UNICEF Code of Conduct. The Nestle boycott was suspended, to be terminated when Nestle has shown a consistent pattern of compliance with the Code. The focus of grassroots concern for the hundreds of thousands of children who yearly continue to be malnourished or die from infant formula related causes has shifted to the US-based infant formula corporations -- American Home Products, Abbott Laboratories, and Bristol-Meyers. A major postcard campaign in mid-1984 caused Bristol-Meyers to begin meetings with International Boycott Committee. In the fall of 1984, INFACT was urging individuals and institutions to write to American Home Products and Abbot Laboratories to urge their compliance with the WHO/UNICEF Code, with the possibility of a boycott implicit in the effort, should these corporations continue to refuse to comply. Postcards, a list of the products of these corporations, and further information of this whole issue are available from INFACT. Contact the corporations for their side of the controversy.

Abbott Laboratories
Abbott Park
N. Chicago, IL 60064

American Home Products
685 Third Avenue
New York, NY 10017

Bristol-Myers
345 Park Ave.
New York, NY 10154

This issue offers teachers a good example of how corporate practice can affect the lives of millions of children, on an issue that even elementary school children can understand and act. It also offers an example of a sustained and successful grassroots campaign and answers the question -- "can boycotts really work?" There are excellent AVs (particularly the point-counterpoint documentary by Bill Moyers entitled INTO THE MOUTHS OF BABES, a 30-minute 16mm film; contact INFACT for rental locations) available that examine the involvement of the US corporations as well as Nestle. Thus, even if the campaign against American Home Products and Abbott Laboratories has been terminated by the time you teach this unit, you may want to use this as a case study of the connection between multinational corporations and global injustice and of the power of citizen action. Elementary and junior high teachers may want to get the 3-page "How to Teach the Nestle Boycott to Grade School Children" piece that appeared in the 1981 edition of this GLOBAL DIMENSIONS volume and use it historically or adapt it to American Home Products and Abbott Laboratories (if that campaign continues). If it is no longer available from INFACT, write us for a copy.

"Case Study on General Foods Corporation and El Salvador"
(see pp. 83-92)

C. Internal Causes -- Inequitable, Repressive National Economic Orders

1. Concept: It is vital that students realize that while part of the problem of Third World development is due to industrialized countries and the economic rules of the game, part of the problem is due to the internal situation of most Third World countries. There is a tremendous gap between the rich and poor in most (non-socialist) Third World countries. The rich exploit the poor, block any meaningful land reform or resource distribution measures, exert enough political pressure to avoid paying just taxes, ship their money to Swiss banks, demand luxury imports instead of promoting an import policy designed to bring consumer goods to the majority of the population, maintain a social class system that impoverishes and threatens the dignity of many of the indigenous peoples (whether Indians in Latin America or Blacks in Africa).

It is here that the essential point can be made that the real solutions to poverty and powerlessness and underdevelopment in the Third World are not primarily technical ones (like birth control, the Green Revolution, better industrial efficiency), though these are important, but political ones, ones that demand a redistribution of wealth and power - real social revolutions.

2. Activities:

-- Have students recall the stories of Mang Gener and Rosa Duenas and ask them to identify the (internal) obstacles to development in those situations.

-- Recall the "technological" vs. "social-political" approaches to hunger and the charts in the essay on "Hunger: Four Principles" in the unit on "Hunger". Have students name the differences between the two approaches and why the author thinks the "basic needs" approach rather than the "trickle down" approach in the chart is more effective in combatting hunger/poverty. Have them discuss whether they agree or not with the author and why.

-- "Case Study on the General Foods Corporation and El Salvador" (as suggested in the TEACHERS DIRECTIONS above, this is the best place for taking this case study, unless you are using it as the culmination of the entire unit).

III. TWO OVERALL SOLUTIONS

A. A New International Economic Order (NIEO): The "Basic Principles of the NIEO" essay below is excerpted from BREAD AND JUSTICE and gives a schematic outline of the NIEO with a concluding chronological update. See Chapter 3 in BREAD AND JUSTICE for a much fuller description, for numerous classroom activities, and for suggestions for action. In terms of activities, consider the following:

1. Comparison -- make two columns, one headed "Present IEO" and the other headed "New IEO". Review the essays on "The Ratched-McMurphy Model" and "Potosi Silver" and the excerpts from the BREAD, JUSTICE AND TRADE filmstrip script and have students list the characteristics of the present international economic order under column 1. Then have students read the "Basic Principles of the NIEO" essay and have them list the characteristics of the NIEO in column 2. Try to match of similar issues so that the differences become clearer.

2. Evaluation -- ask the students to identify which of the proposed changes in the NIEO seem reasonable to them and why. Ask whether any seem unreasonable and why. The discussion questions at the end of the essay would be good to consider as part of this overall discussion.

3. An AV overview -- TAKING CHARGE: THE STRUGGLE FOR ECONOMIC JUSTICE is a 1984 27-minute filmstrip and slide/tape presentation on various aspects of the NIEO, the need for new internal economic orders (using Nicaragua and Chile as key examples), and the connections between the practices of multinational corporations in the Third World and in the US. As such, it would provide a good summary of section II of this unit as well as an overview of both parts of this section III. (purchase from NARMIC, $60; rentals from regional offices of the American Friends Service Committee).

B. New Internal (National) Economic Orders

1. Basic elements and some questions If you have not already done so, show the last part of the BREAD, JUSTICE, AND TRADE filmstrip and/or duplicate and have students study the text of thr filmstrip and the charts below ("New Internal/National Economic Orders") and then discuss the questions following the text/essay.

2. "Some Comparisons between Capitalism and Socialism" -- duplicate for each student or project on an overhead projector the chart entitled "Some Comparisons between Capitalism and Socialism"(p. 82) and make sure that students understand the basic differences between capitalist and socialist models of development. Either before or after their individual case studies, have students evaluate these two models of development with 4 components of justice and 4 principles of self-reliant development. In what ways are each of these components and principles realized in each of the 2 models of development?

3. Country case studies -- have students individually or in teams choose their particular case study (from among the following and others), perhaps using the 5 elements of a new internal economic order or the 4 principles of self-reliant development as the organizing principle or outline for their report. If they organize their report differently, then make sure that they evaluate their case study in terms of these elements. Students might also be asked to answer the question: "Would I want to live there; why or why not?" Countries representing a variety of models of development should be recommended. Some of the best Third World possibilities include:

-- NICARAGUA (see the "Case Study on Nicaragua" below)

-- BRAZIL ("Mainstream") - similarly much has been done on the "Brazilian miracle" of economic development, both positively and negatively. One of the best resources for high school and college classes is a 135-page workbook entitled FOCUS ON BRAZIL: A CASE STUDY OF DEVELOPMENT (from Global Development Studies Institute). A good critique of the Brazilian model is Michael Harrington, THE VAST MAJORITY: A JOURNEY TO THE WORLD'S POOR (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1978).

-- TANZANIA (mostly "Moralist-Idealist") - SELF-RELIANT TANZANIA (from Third World Publications, 15 Dovey Road, Birmingham B13 9NT, England) is a comprehensive sourcebook on this model, including 6 essays by Nyerere; "Of People and a Vision" is a 20-minute 16mm Maryknoll film on Tanzanian self-reliance; Frances Moore Lapp, MOZAMBIQUE AND TANZANIA (Institute for Food and Development Policy, 1980), offers a critical perspective, especially in comparison with the Mozambiquan ("Marxist") model of development.

-- CUBA ("Marxist") - so close to our shores and perhaps so misperceived, Cuba is an important case study. The PEOPLE AND SYSTEMS packet (see "Resources") is excellent. More recently, MARYKNOLL magazine did a good short study on Cuba (August, 1980) for high school and older readers. Contact the Institute for Food and Development Policy for NO FREE LUNCH: FOOD AND REVOLUTION IN CUBA TODAY, Joseph Collins' 1984 study of Cuban food and farming systems. The Cuba Resource Center (11 John St., Room 506, New York, NY 10038; 212-964-6124) distributes in English accurate and timely materials, including the monthly CUBA REVIEW.

--CHILE (presently "Mainstream"; "Marxist" from 1970-1973) - this offers a real contrast within the same country. Among the analyses of the "Marxist" years is NEW CHILE (208 pages contrasting Allende's experiment with what preceded him; from NACLA). For a critical perspective on the present "Mainstream" model, contact the Institute for Policy Studies. An excellent AV portrayal of what socialism meant in the Allende years is the 16mm 30-minute Maryknoll film COMPAMENTO (from California Newsreel).

In terms of other resources, the following would be particularly helpful:

-- The September 1980 issue of SCIENTIFIC AMERICAN is entirely on economic development, with essays comparing China, India, Tanzania, and Mexico. Excellent maps and charts.

-- "Central America: Political-Military Realities and Canadian Foreign Policy" is the title of a 14-page tabloid published by 10 Days for World Development (Room 315, 85 St. Clair Ave. E., Toronto, Ontario M4T 1M8) that examines the various models of development being pursued by each Central American country, with an excellent bibliography.

-- TOWARD A BETTER WORLD; The World Bank. (Order from International Learning Systems, 1715 Connecticut AVe., NW Washington, DC 20009). Gives high school students a comprehensive look at the developing world, plus case studies of India, Kenya, and Mexico. Kit includes student books and pamphlets for a class of 36 students, 5 sound filmstrips, and 5 teaching guides. ($180.00). Review Packet A, without filmstrips, available for $13.25.

-- PEOPLE AND SYSTEMS is a set of readings for high school students, comparing the models of development in the U.S., Canada, Cuba, Tanzania, and China in terms of five elements: role of women, health care, education, religion, and work. From Friendship Press, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, NY 10027; $6.95 for whole kit.

-- All major textbook publishers have a comparative models/approach series in their social studies programs. We caution against the unstated biases in many of them, especially those which discuss "freedom". For a set of criteria for evaluating these (and other) texts, see "10 Quick Ways to Evaluate Global Education materials", from the Peace Education Network of COPRED (also pp. 255-259 in the BREAD AND JUSTICE TEACHERS BOOK).

"LIVING ON LESS THAN $200 A YEAR"

"We begin by invading the house of our imaginary American family to strip it of its furniture. Everything goes: beds, chairs, tables, television set, lamps. We will leave the family with a few old blankets, a kitchen table, a wooden chair. Along with the bureaus go the clothes. Each member of the family may keep in his "wardrobe" his oldest suit or dress, a shirt or blouse. We will permit a pair of shoes to the head of the family, but none for the wife or children.

"We move into the kitchen. The appliances have already been taken out, so we turn to the cupboards and larder. The box of matches may stay, a small bag of flour, some sugar and salt. A few moldy potatoes, already in the garbage can, must be hastily rescued, for they will provide much of tonight's meal. We will leave a handful of onions, and a dish of dried beans. All the rest we take away: the meat, the fresh vegetables, the canned goods, the crakers, the candy.

"Now we have stripped the house: the bathroom has been dismantled, the running water shut off, the electric wires taken out. Next we take away the house. The family can move to the toolshed. It is crowded, but much better than the situation in Hong Kong, where (a United Nations report tells us) it is not uncommon for a family of four or more to live in a bedspace, that is, on a bunk bed and the space it occupies - sometimes in two or three tiers - their only privacy provided by curtains.

"And still we have not reduced our American family to the level at which life is lived in the greatest part of the globe. Communication must go next. No more newspapers, magazines, books - not that they are missed, since we must take away our family's literacy as well.

"Now government services must go. No more postman, no more fireman. There is a school, but is is three miles away and consists of two classrooms. They are not too overcrowded since only half the children in the neighborhood go to school. There are, of course, no hospitals or doctors nearby. The nearest clinic is ten miles away and is tended by a midwife. It can be reached by bicycle, which is unlikely. Or one can go by bus - not always inside, but there is usually room on top.

"Finally, money, we will allow our family a cash hoard of five dollars. This will prevent our breadwinner from experiencing the tragedy of an Iranian peasant who went blind because he could not raise the $3.94 which he mistakenly thought he needed to secure admission to a hospital where he could have been cured...."

Discussion Questions

1. How do you feel in your "new home" and neighborhood?

2. What would life be like day after day in that situation?

"THE STORY OF MANG GENER"

(excerpted from the "AGRIBUSINESS GOES BANANAS" slide presentation, produced by Earthwork, and reprinted with their permission):

"I am Mang Gener. My wife and children live here. Originally we were migrants from the sugar plantations of the Visayan Islands of the Philippines. We came to Buenavida in 1931 to search for a better livelihood. We worked on the land for a long time. We taught our children how to plant crops. But this man came, claiming that the land was his. We could not believe it. When we went to the Bureau of Lands to ask why, they told us that our land belonged to this stranger because he had the papers to prove it and we had none. We could not do anything. This was how the landlords came and how we, the peasants became tenants. We worked, but did not own the land, and we were given only a 1/3 share of every harvest.

"This was how it was until the late 1960s, when the banana plantations were first developed. One day, government officals with some Americans came to appraise our land. And they told us: "We are putting up a banana plantation here...." At first, we simply could not understand what they wanted. Give up our land? How could we give up our land when it was our only source of livelihood? The landlords were the first to give up their land in contracts with multinational corporations. They were given a substantial cash advance by the company. The tenants were left with no choice but to abide by the landlord's decisions.... It was less than three weeks after the eviction notice that they bulldozed our land. I had to leave it then. I could not stand the sight of coconut trees falling one after another.....

"In addition to this, the land that has been taken away from us peasants has been destroyed by the use of too many fertilizers, chemicals, insecticides. Even the rivers have become chemically poisoned, destroying all maritime resources -- resulting in the denial of livelihood to hundreds of families...."

Discussion Questions

1. Do you agree with the conviction of many people that "the land belongs to those who work it"? Why or why not?

2. Why is Mang Gener poor?

3. What would you have done if you were Mang Gener?

4. What do you think of the following analysis of Mang Gener's situation:

Mang Gener and millions of other small farmers and farmworkers in the US as well as in the Third World are the victims of the concentration of power. Especially in Third World countries, economic power is more and more concentrated in the hands of a relatively few individuals and institutions -- a relatively small number of large local landowners, multinational corporations, and too many Third World governments more committed to protecting the interests of both these groups than the interests of the poor majority in their countries.

Rini Templeton

SHANTYTOWN ORGANIZER: "WE MUST BREAK THE SILENCE OF WOMEN"

Ed. Note: The following is a summary of an LP interview with Rosa Duenas:slumdweller, feminist, political activist, community organizer, devout Catholic. Duenas is above all a woman of her people, and requests that her personal experiences be related as an illustration of the experiences of many of Peru's poor women. In front of her small house in El Planeta, a Lima shantytown, a faded "Beauty Shop" sign still stands. Inside, people come and go. An old man tinkers in the backyard and tends the chickens, while children play in the front room. Community leaders drop in constantly. Duenas has several children, some of them adopted. Her eldest son is presently awaiting trial: along with other teenagers from the neighborhood he was arrested on charges of terrorism in June, 1983 and then charged with an attack on a police station that took place a month after his arrest. Recently another son was drafted into the army. So every Saturday Duenas joins the long line of poor women outside Lurigancho prison, bringing a basket of food and encouragement to her son and the other boys she knows. Then she travels to the other end of the city to see her son at an army barracks.

Political Awakening: Most of us are single mothers, either widows or abandoned by our husbands. Many of us have TB on top of a variety of other illnesses that seem to go with being poor. And children! Our lives are always full of children. The only way we survive is by helping each other by sharing bits of information like who washes clothes, who has clothes to wash, the name of those who can pay for laundry service. When one of the children, or a mother, or an old granny is sick, we take up a collection for medicine in our soup kitchen. When someone's husband is out on strike or loses his job, we make sure that the family at least has something to eat--often by eating less ourselves. This communication, this effort and love and sharing among us makes us want to organize even more. Most of our children are undernourished and many have failed and dropped out of school because they were not eating regularly. And many drop out just because someone has to take care of the smaller children while we mothers go out looking for something to eat.

I began to become politically aware when I started a preschool and began teaching the smaller kids all that I learned in school. THere are so many children without homes, food or care that it was one thing I could do. But eventually I began to wonder, "What good is all this? We need real alternatives, we must work for social change." I deeply believe that the true mother does not just stay at home caring for her own children. No, the true mother defends the rights of every child. She feels that every child is her own flesh, and she will work with others to make sure that all are cared for.

We try to teach our children by our example. The best legacy we can leave them is the example of our courage, our love, our solidarity. But when our children begin to help us, to work with us for social and political change, the government takes them and throws them into prison. The authorities say what we have taught our children is terrorism, but they never mention the terror of hunger. Watching our children grow up in these circumstances convinces us that the only way out is to organize for change.

You ask about personal change. Well, the radio, the television try to get you to see the world as they would like you to, alienating you from yourself. We often fall into the trap. But when you begin to participate with others, when you join with striking workers for example, and ask why they are striking, you begin to understand that these workers are only seeking a way to survive. When you can't pay the rent you go with the others and take over a piece of land rather than commit suicide. And when you join with others in such actions, you find so much caring, so much solidarity.

Feminist option: For years I have been active in political party work. The Peruvian left is full of contradictions--you would have to be crazy to deny that. But in these political organizations you can gain a space, a voice for your people. I am a feminist because there is no political party that values women's views, accepts women as leaders or deals with the issues that specifically affect women. We must become feminists in order to raise the question of sexism, because that has been our experience as women. We know it must be dealt with along with all the other issues we are struggling for, but the unions, the popular organizations and the political parties won't include women's demands in their platforms. The growing feminist movement here in Peru has distanced itself from the left because the left simply fails to recognize our human potential. They don't take up the issues of family life, of women's situation, of what it means to be a wife. It is women's groups themselves that must deal with these issues, because we are the ones being assaulted, raped and ignored.

Women's refuge: Now that we have a bit of experience in neighborhood organizing, we realize that, as women of the people with some understanding of feminism, we must create our own alternatives. For instance, one day some women came to our soup kitchen asking to stay for a few days. Some were young women whose mothers had thrown them out and others were mothers with children who were escaping beatings from their husbands; some were women who had just arrived from the provinces with no money and no place to stay. We got together and set up a house of hospitality. Some of their husbands are considered revolutionaries, but their wives have been forced to flee from their homes! We're trying to set up a center where women can rest, work, and eat until they can get back on their feet. The creation of such shelters is something the bourgeois feminists have talked about a great deal, but we actually have one going! Our women's group here in El Planeta tries to break the silence of women, to develop women leaders among the people, to teach our people to value their own culture and experience, to stand in solidarity with others.

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Discussion Questions

1. Why does Rosa Duenas say "What good is all this (teaching pre-school)? We need real alternatives, we must work for social change?" Do you agree? Why or why not?
2. How does she describe the "true mother"? Do you agree? Why or why not?
3. She says "When you can't pay the rent, you go with the others and take over a piece of land rather than commit suicide." What would you do if you couldn't pay the rent for your family?
4. What is your image of poor people? In what ways does Duenas fit that image? In what ways is she different?
5. Which is worse -- the "terror of hunger" or the "terrorism" (as the authorities describe many of the activities of the poor) of the hungry?
6. Why does she say "We must break the silence of women"? Do you agree? Why or why not?

THE RATCHED-MCMURPHY MODEL: A VIEW FROM THE BOTTOM

In the real world, the people at the top like to see themselves as beneficent and have others see the world the same way in which they do. They also like to see their institutions run smoothly, whether it is the International Economic Order, the World Bank, a state university, a prison, or a mental institution. Dissident elements are not easily tolerated because they threaten the established order by challenging its legitimacy and right to impose its rules on everybody connected with the institution. From this perspective, order is a virtue and disruption an abomination. With a little bit of imagination, Ken Kesey's popular novel, ONE FLEW OVER THE CUCKOO'S NEST, which inspired the award-winning movie of the same title, can be used metaphorically to depict the International Economic Order from the utopian perspective of the people at the bottom.

Ratched and McMurphy: Ideology and Utopia:

ONE FLEW OVER THE CUCKOO'S NEST revolves largely around the political struggle between Nurse Ratched, the upholder of the Established Order, and R.P. McMurphy, a fiercely independent rebel who refuses to be domesticated by the powers that be. Most of the action takes place in a mental institution which we assume is run by the same people who run the International Economic Order. Nurse Ratched manages a ward in the mental hospital. Backed by the full weight of her bosses, her institutional position gives her the power to define Development/normalcy/sanity in a way compatible with her own interests and those of her employers. She can also impose this definition on the patients in her ward. There is only one way for the patients to develop, and that is in accordance with Nurse Ratched's way. Getting well (Development) means taking certain kinds of pills (private capital), listening to the right kind of soothing music (attending Western universities), and participating in therapy sessions (international institutions like the World Bank) led by Nurse Ratched. The prescriptions for mental health (Development) are standardized and disbursed to all patients regardless of their condition (level of Development) at regular intervals in order to insure the smooth and efficient functioning of the ward.

Nurse Ratched perceives herself and the institution which she serves as benevolent. She perceives her patients as inferior (Underdeveloped) and lacking the character traits and behavior patterns needed for proper adjustment to the real world (International Economic Order). Since her patients are insane (underdeveloped), they have to be watched and controlled very carefully so that they don't do any harm to themselves or the ward. Her mission is to guide her patients, if possible, along the path to sanity (Development).

To fulfill her mission, Nurse Ratched must act as both a teacher and a policeman. As a teacher, she must inculcate her patients with the norms needed to make them sane. She has several means at her disposition to help her achieve this goal, including the wisdom of medical science (technology) and the techniques of therapy (public administration).

Moreover, she has sufficient physical resources to meet the basic material needs of the patients in her ward and provide them with a measure of physical security. As a policeman, Nurse Ratched is charged with maintaining order which is indispensible to the patients' progress and enforcing the rules. She has several means for keeping her patients in line and discouraging violations of the rules--withdrawal of privileges (accesss to foreign aid), electric shock treatments (military intervention), and in extreme cases, lobotomies (destruction of the offending regime). In cases of serious disruption or violence in the ward, Nurse Ratched can also call upon several powerful orderlies to help her restore order.

The inmates of the ward are themselves a varied lot. Some are "Chronics" (Fourth World) who are given little or no hope for recovery and who are barely kept alive in vegetable form by the mental institution which, in some instances, put them in their helpless condition through unsuccessful therapy. Then there are the "Acutes" (Third World) who can be divided into those who were involuntarily committed (through colonialism) and those who willingly entered the mental hospital (nominally independent Third World countries to seek a certain measure of psychic and material security because they could not cope with their problems (Underdevelopment). Some relate more easily to the norms and rules laid down by Nurse Ratched, like the college-educated Hardin who thinks that he is better than his fellow inmates because of his superior education. Others like Cheswick are less reconciled to their being in the ward and bear a lot of latent hostility towards Nurse Ratched.

For the most part, the "Acutes" are a fairly domesticated group who docilely accept and obey Nurse Ratched's regime. But all this changes when R.P. McMurphy enters the scene. McMurphy is a former war hero, chronic brawler, and rebel who winds up in Nurse Ratched's ward after being transferred from a prison farm to the mental institution because of his disruptive behavior. McMurphy soon upsets the order of the ward because of his refusal to accept Ratched's definition of normalcy(Development) and prescriptions for progress as valid. From McMurphy's utopian perspective, the mental hospital becomes an oppressive institution and Nurse Ratched's rules and regulations instruments of oppression designed to keep the inmates (Third World) docile and dependent. He scoffs at the ideological facade which portrays Nurse Ratched as a benevolent soul and competent professional seeking only the well-being of her patients. Instead, he sees her as an evil and oppressive monster who uses her power in a vicious and spiteful manner when crossed. Despite his limited resources and precarious position, McMurphy becomes the champion of the oppressed inmates of the ward and enters into combat with Nurse Ratched. In standing up for his own autonomy and human dignity and provoking his fellow inmates to rebellion through his example, McMurphy becomes the nemesis of Nurse Ratched and a threat to the smooth functioning of the institution (International Economic Order). As such he must be either domesticated or destroyed.

Administrative Discretion and the Facade of Democracy

Much of the action in the movie revolves around the therapy sessions which are based on the notion of the "therapeutic community" whereby all the participants work out their problems together in democratic fashion. In theory, the therapy sessions are designed to facilitate healing and prepare the patients for their eventual participation in the outside world as healthy and well-adjusted people. There, the patients learn and practice the norms and virtues of good citizenship, self-help, and mutual cooperation. Although led by Nurse Ratched in theory the therapy session is essentially a democratic institution in which all the actors are more or less equal "Partners in Progress". But, in practice, it is Nurse Ratched who controls the agenda for discussion, manipulates the patients' emotions to keep them psychologically dependent, and uses Divide and Rule tactics to divert their latent hostilities and resentment towards her and their situation towards each other.

One scene in the movie is particularly instructive indemonstrating how democratic facades are often used to mask naked authoritarianism. Thus, when McMurphy suggest that the patients in his therapy group be permitted to watch the World Series on television, he sets off a chain of events which reveals the professed democracy of the "therapeutic community" to be a farce. At first, Nurse Ratched smiles and patiently explains that changes in ward policy--i.e., watching the World Series--must be, indemocratic fashion, approved by the patients. Since most of the patients know that Nurse Ratched disapproves and are afraid to cross her, only a few support McMurphy. McMurphy is in the minority in the voting; Democracy triumphs. By the next therapy session, however, McMurphy has organized the members of his therapy group behind him (unity of the Third World) and calls for another vote. When the group votes unanimously to watch the World Series on television, Nurse Ratched rules that ward policy can't be changed without a majority of all the patients in the ward including the incapacitated "Chronics" who don't know what is going on most of the time. Frustrated and infuriated at this cynical manipulation of the rules, McMurphy frantically seeks to find the vote he needs to get his majority. After a frenzied effort, he succeeds in getting the vote of Chief Bromden, a giant Native American on the "Chronic" side of the ward who has feigned deafness and dumbness for several years. The Chief raises his hand in support. The majority has spoken; democracy triumphs. (UNCTAD will have its way.) But, alas, Nurse Ratched has ruled that the decisive vote came too late after the election had been closed. There will be no World Series for McMurphy and his friends. Ratched wins because she controls the mechanics of the election. More significantly, even though she has violated the spirit of the democratic principles which she initially invoked to defeat McMurphy, she is able to make her decision stick because she also has control over the television.

McMurphy, however, refuses to accept defeat without putting up a fight. He is going to assert his contempt for Nurse Ratched's violation of "fair play" and his defiance of Nurse Ratched and her rules. The other patients in the group rally to his banner. McMurphy pretends to watch the Series on TV. The other patients join him. Soon they are all shouting and pretending to be watching and enjoying a World Series game when, in fact, they are watching themselves on closed circuit television. Ratched is livid with fury at this open defiance on the part of the patients who feel a sense of their own potential for the first time in the movie.

Two important lessons emerge from the World Series incident: (1) that formal democratic structures often serve as an ideological face masking the arbitrariness and naked authoritarianism of the dominant classes; and (2) that alternative patterns of behavior which deviate from those laid down by the rulers must be rejected, especially when initiated by the oppressed.

Cheswick's Rebellion: The Struggle for Control Over One's Resources

Another stirring scene in the movie version of ONE FLEW OVER THE CUCKOO'S NEST underscores the realities of power relationships in Nurse Ratched's ward and the high costs of the rebellion. Cheswick, one of the patients in the therapy group, complains bitterly about the fact that Nurse Ratched has rationed the ward's cigarettes. Emboldened by McMurphy's defiant example, the once meek and fearful Cheswick gets up enough nerve to insist that Nurse Ratched give him his cigarettes. Nurse Ratched refuses, explaining that the cigarettes were being withheld so that they would not be "misused" by the inmates who, under McMurphy's instigation, had used them for gambling chips, thus violating ward regulations forbidding gambling. This explanation does not appease Cheswick who now demands the right to have access to and control over his own resources. Cheswick is now in open revolt and screams for his cigarettes now! McMurphy takes up Cheswick's cause and breaks a window in

Ratched's office to get a carton of cigarettes which he then tosses to Cheswick. With the rebellion getting our of hand, Nurse Ratched calls in the orderlies to subdue the hysterical Cheswick and to restore order. McMurphy starts battling with the orderlies when they attempt to seize Cheswick and put him in a straitjacket. Chief Bromden joins the fray when he sees his friend McMurphy in trouble. The three men are finally subdued in brutal fashion after reinforcements have been brought in to quell the rebellion. They are then sent to the Disturbed Ward for electric shock treatment as their punishment for challenging Nurse Ratched's authority and disrupting the order of the ward.

The lesson is clear. The oppressed classes and nations don't have the real claim on their own resources. When they insist upon controlling their own resources as they see fit, they are regarded as threats to the established order of the dominant classes and nations of the world. In Chile, Allende, like Cheswick, insisted upon Chile's right to control its own copper resources. The World Bank did not like this; ITT and other American companies did not like this; the CIA did not like this. So the orderlies were brought in to reestablish order. Like Cheswick, Allende had violated the rules by too forcefully pressing for nationalization and socialization of the Chilean economy.

Revolution, Reaction, and the Martyrdom of McMurphy

The movie reaches its climax in the last few scenes. McMurphy is preparing his escape. But before he goes, he engineers a wild party in the ward during the wee hours of the night which totally disrupts the carefully organized system set up by Ratched to domesticate the patients. Everyone starts doing whatever they feel like doing and are having a ball. The barriers between the "Chronics" and the "Acutes" crumble as the two groups fraternize and frolic together. The patients drink, dance, sing, make love, smash Nurse Ratched's office and transform the ward into a chaotic but happy liberated territory. And there are no Nurse Ratcheds around to stop them.

But then the morning comes, and Nurse Ratched returns to the ward with her orderlies to restore order. For some inexplicable reason, McMurphy has blown his chance to escape with his lady friend. Now comes the reaction. The patients are pushed around, herded together, and lined up as rebels. Billie Bibbit is singled out for immediate punishment for having made love to one of McMurphy's loose ladies on ward property. Through her bullying and torments, Ratched crushes Billie's spirit and drives him to suicide. After learning of Billie's death, McMurphy, in a wild rage, attempts to strangle Nurse Ratched to death but is clubbed into unconsiousness before he can succeed. McMurphy is then sent off to get a lobotomy which renders him incapable of further resistance.

With the rebellion put down and its leaders punished, the ward returns to its regular routine, once again under the watchful eye and smile of Nurse Ratched. However, McMurphy's resistance and martyrdom have not been in vain. Although order has been reestablished, Nurse Ratched is no longer the same power she was before the arrival of McMurphy. She now has to wear a neck brace and the patients know that she is not omnipotent. Moreover, McMurphy's example has inspired the once moribund Chief Bromden to gain enough self-confidence, courage, and strength to attempt an escape. But before doing so, he smothers McMurphy, now reduced to a helpless vegetable, to death with a pillow because he cannot bear to see his friend in such a pitiful state. The movie ends with the Chief, symbol of America's most oppressed and exploited people, smashing his way out of the ward by throwing a huge chrome fixture through a window (an act requiring a prodigious feat of strength) and then running off into the night to freedom.

Although ONE FLEW OVER THE CUCKOO'S NEST was clearly not written as a Utopian Moralist-Idealist critique of the present International Economic Order, it does examine the actual functioning of institutions from the perspective of the people at the bottom by encouraging the reader to empathize with the plight of the patients in the ward and to applaud McMurphy's refusal to be domesticated by the power structure. It rejects the mainstream definition of normalcy (Development) imposed by Ratched, the interpretation of reality which presents the mental hospital and the people who run them ("Have" classes and nations) as benevolent, kand the prescriptions (corporated capitalism) proposed by Ratched as ill-suited to the real needs of the patients. Moreover, it denounces the ideological weapons and physical violence used by Ratched to maintain her dominant position and keep the patients in her ward in line. Finally, the Ratched-McMurphy model affirms the primacy of Liberation over Order (Domesticated Development) and asserts the rights of the inmates (oppressed classes and peoples of the world) to resist dehumanization and exploitation and to run their lives and manage their resources in conformance with their own rather than Nurse Ratched's world views and interests.

Discussion Questions

1. What are the main characteristics of Nurse Ratched's approach to dealing with people? Describe real life situations in which you have seen people act like Nurse Ratched or in which you yourself have been "Ratched-ed".

2. What are McMurphy's main characteristics? Have you ever seen a McMurphy in action? If so, what happened?

3. Describe some situations in your life when you have identified with or acted like Nurse Ratched, McMurphy, Chief Bromden, Cheswick, one of the orderlies?

4. What parallels to the present global situation did you find in the "Ratched-McMurphy Model"? What group/countries act like Nurse Ratched? especially in which ways? Which act like McMurphy? especially in which ways?

5. How important is it to be the agent as well as the beneficiary of one's own (personal and societal) development?

6. Which of the two models would provide a better chance for justice? Do either of them really do the job? Explain.

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"POTOSI SILVER"

Visit to a "Backwater"

If we as Canadians tried to imagine what an underdeveloped area looks like, we would probably conjure up a town like Potosi, Bolivia. At an altitude of 15,000 feet above sea level, Potosi is difficult to reach. The roads leading to it are bad. The native Indian people who live there eke out a meagre living from the poor soil. The only other major source of employment is a tin mine in the mountain which overlooks the town. Housing is poor, and running water and electricity are a luxury in the area.

At first glance, it might seem that this town needs to be drawn out of its isolation and backwardness into the mainstream of "modern" economic development. It might seem that the town needs an injection of foreign capital and technical "know-how" to pull it out of this state of underdevelopment.

However, a closer look at Potosi reveals to the traveller that it was once a part of the great Inca empire and later, a cornerstone of economic growth and political power in the Spanish empire. The runis of this once thriving centre of development are still visible. Baroque church facades carved in stone show eroded but discernible images of splendor and abundance. In the 1600's, in the heyday of Potosi, they say that even the horses were shod with silver. At the height of its boom, the town had a population equal to that of London and larger than that of European centres like Madrid, Rome, or Paris. Potosi attracted silks and fabrics from Canada and Flanders, the latest fashions from Paris and London, diamonds from India, crystal from Venice, and perfumes from Arabia. Something really valuable in the seventeenth century was referred to commonly as being "worth a Potosi".

> "When the soldiers of the conquering Spaniard Pizarro entered Cuzco, they thought they were entering the city of the Caesars, so marvellous was the architecture and so splendid were the temples of the Incas".
>
> THE OPEN VEINS OF LATIN AMERICA

The entire economic and social life of Potosi was based on wealth from a single commodity - silver. This silver was mined by the native Indian population and shipped directly to Spain. Potosi silver financed, in large measure, the development of the Spanish empire in the seventeenth century.

> "Between 1503 and 1660, one hundred and eighty-five thousand kilograms of gold and sixteen million of silver arrived at the Spanish port of Sanlucar de Barrameda. Silver shipped to Spain in little more than a century and half exceeded three times the total European reserves - and it must be remembered that these official figures are not complete".
>
> Eduardo Galeano,
> THE OPEN VEINS OF LATIN AMERICA

The wealth which was extracted from Potosi's Cerro Rico - the "Rich Hill" - was shipped to the mother country rather than being accumulated in the area. Thus, the development generated by the valuable mineral occurred in Europe, rather than in Bolivia. When the silver ran out, Potosi's boom ended and the area was left to "underdevelop".

> "Western Europe did not go out into the world and find underdeveloped countries, she created them".
>
> M. Darroll Bryant,
> A WORLD BROKEN BY UNSHARED BREAD

Europe's Urge to Conquer

The underdevelopment of Potosi, then, began with the abuse of its people and resources through the European colonial system. The Latin American economy was geared by the Europeans to meet their own needs, not those of the local people. The underdevelopment which is characteristic of this "ghost" town today, has its roots in the history of military conquests. Underdeveloped countries today are full of "ghost" towns like Potosi, and nearly all were European colonies at one time.

The arrival of the Europeans in Asia, Africa, and Latin America - what is known today as the Third World - fundamentally altered the processes of development which were taking place at the time. In some cases, these societies were more advanced than others; and all, of course, had problems to surmount. But the people in these areas were constructing societies which, although not industrialized, were often highly sophisticated and complex. They were able to meet their physical and psychological needs through their own institutions. The military conquest of Third World people led to the plunder and destruction of some of the world's great civilizations.

The reasons the Europeans ventured across the seas were largely trade and profit. They needed spices, gold, silver, land, and markets in which to sell their processed goods. In this relentless quest, the Europeans disrupted the development processes which were going on in the societies they conquered. It was military force - not innate superiority - which enabled the invaders to subdue the native people and destroy the basic social units of entire peoples, i.e., families, culture, and religious institutions.

> "Struggling and fighting among each other, each trying to get his hands on the lion's share, the soldiers in their coats of mail, trampled on jewels and images ... they tossed all the temple's gold into a melting pot to turn it into bars: the laminae that covered the walls, the marvellous representations of trees, birds, and other objects in the garden..."
>
> THE OPEN VEINS OF LATIN AMERICA

Agriculture and Mining

The colonizers forced people off land which had often been held communally and introduced the concept of "Landlord". This separated people from the means by which they had been producing their own food. The traditional means of exchange was replaced by the foreigner's money. This accomplished two things: it forced people to work for the landlord in order to earn money, and locked them into buying only those goods which the colonizers offered. People were forced to work in the mines and plantations. This diverted their energies from growing various foods to meet their own needs, to satisfying a mining or crop system determined by the owner.

The products of the native people's labour and the profits which were derived from it were exported to fuel the expanding economies of Europe rather than to develop their own societies. In this way, boom and bust economies (the silver cycle of Potosi) were created and people became dependent for their existence on the mother country. Any change in the demand from the mother country for the goods produced in the colonized area had a drastic effect on the local economy. Similarly, the emergencies of other suppliers of the same goods jeopardized these fragile economies. In this way, "newly discovered" peoples became locked into a wider world market system over which they had no control,and which tended to work to their disadvantage.

The example of Potosi indicates how development in Europe generates underdevelopment in the colonies. But Potosi was no exception in this - the pattern is repeated throughout the history of military expansion into the Third World".

Discussion Questions

1. What parallels did you find between this account and the "Ratched-McMurphy Model"? Did you find any differences?

2. Describe the inequality of power between Spain and Potosi (what power did Spain have that Potosi did not have?)

3. What were the results of this inequality of power?

4. Do you agree with quotation of M. Darroll Bryant that "Western Europe did not go out into the world and find underdeveloped countries; she created them"? Why or why not?

5. Why would foreign aid -- a redistribution of goods in the form of surplus food, some tractors, some technical advisors, and birth control devices -- not be the answer to Potosi's present poverty/underdevelopment?

6. What other examples can you name that illustrate how the underdevelopment of the poor is a result of the development of the rich?

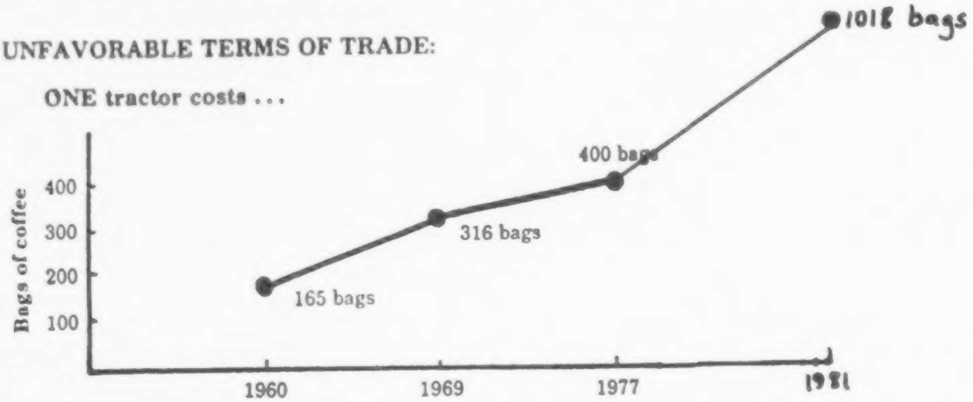
"BREAD, JUSTICE AND TRADE"

Trade has brought the people of the world closer together. To get a sense of how true this is in our own lives, make a collage of all the things that you use in your day that involve people from other countries. Start with the food you eat, the clothes you wear, the bike or car you use. Don't forget the arts and ideas, too.

A simple thing like the Hershey Bar provides another good example. Let's go to Hershey, PA, where Hershey bars are produced. What goes into a Hershey Bar? Besides milk and corn syrup, there is sugar, perhaps from the Dominican Republic or the Philippines; cocoa, largely from Ghana and other West African countries; and, if you're like me, your Hershey Bar has almonds, perhaps from Brazil, as well as from almond fields in California. A drought in Ghana, or a strike in the Dominican Republic by workers demanding decent wages, working conditions, and their right to unionize, might force Hershey to cut back production. If workers are laid off, then the whole town of Hershey is affected. Trade has tied our lives to the lives of the people in Ghana, the Dominican Republic, and elsewhere in the world.

But trade relations between the industrialized world and the developing world are far from equal. The terms of trade, that is, the relationship between the price of goods imported and the price of those exported, is the first way that Third World countries are hurt by present trade practices. For most Third World countries, there is a widening gap from year to year between what they get from the sale of their exports and what they pay for imports. While some Third World countries like Brazil can boast of a wider variety of exports than just bananas, even Brazil, and more so the rest of Latin America, have mostly raw materials to sell. These include cocoa, sugar, coffee, cotton, tin, copper, and bananas.

While exporting raw materials, most of what Third World countries import are manufactured goods such as cars, processed coffee, machinery, and cookware. The prices on these manufactured goods from industrialized nations go up steadily. Thus Third World countries can buy less and less with money they get for their raw malterials. The following graph points this out with regard to the price of raw coffee. The graph shows the between 1960 and 1970, what a bag of coffee could buy was cut in half, and was cut much further by 1981. Joseph Collins reports in his WHAT DIFFERENCE COULD A REVOLUTION MAKE(p.11) that in 1977 it took 4.4 tons of coffee to import one tractor, but that in 1981 it took 11.2 tons of coffee. On the graph below, that would mean 1,018 bags of coffee! While consumers in North America have seen increased prices on coffee and other Third World items, it has not meant a better situation for the coffee producing countries. The prices of the manufactured goods and oil that most Third World countries import continue to rise even faster.



These unfavorable trade relations lead to what is known as the "spiral of debt". This spiral begins because Third World countries are locked in by the economic and military power of the rich countries. The spiral is further complicated by the fact that Third World countries are exporters of cheaper items and importers of more expensive ones. Third World countries must take out loans because their exports do not raise all the money needed for imports. These loans must be repaid and thus further loans are required. This means even greater debt payments. There is no way out of such a spiral as long as the economic rules of the game go unchanged. The total debt of Third World countries has increased dramatically since 1960. In 1960, this debt was $20 billion. This figure rose to $80 billion 1973, passed the $300 billion mark in 1979, and reached $700 billion in 1984.

The IMF and Hunger: "Peru's Babies Are Dying"

Spiraling debts for Third World countries have meant the need for even more borrowing. As these countries near bankruptcy, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) intervenes. Unless Third World countries are willing to impose the IMF's "austerity conditions" on their people, the IMF and private banks will not grant further loans. These austerity conditions have devastating results for the poor, as revealed by Tomas Burns, a long time US missionary in Peru who has studied the issue extensively and worked daily with its victims:

> The IMF formula to qualify for loans and credit is simple: cut govermment spending, including subsidies for basic foods if necessary. Devaluate the currency to make exports more attractive and to discourage imports. Hold down wages to avoid inflation. But the social costs of this program have been awful
>
> In the last four years, the worker's real buying power has been cut in half. Only 45% of the 5.2 million in the work force have stable work. The price of bread has jumped 1,000%. Per capita calorie and protein intake are but two thirds of those listed by the Food and Agriculture Organization as the vital minimum...
>
> Nationally, the number of babies who die before they learn to walk has jumped some 30% to 109 per 1000. That translates into an additional 13,000 infant deaths a year. No one seems to notice. Children have a way of dying quietly It's a massacre of the innocents.

Burns concludes his account (printed in the NEW YORK TIMES, August 24, 1979) with the following firsthand observation: "The people are crying out for work and just wages. Jobs are their priority, not CARE packages. They are tired of seeing children die in this, the international year of the child."

Most Third World countries have tried to reduce their debt by increasing their exports. Many of these countries have "single export economies". This means that they depend on one or two items for the major portion of their exports. Ghana, for instance, relies on cocoa beans for about 60% of its total exports. Food stuffs like cocoa, coffee and tea account for about 75% of all Third World exports. These are called "cash crops".

To increase cash cropping as a way out of debt means that less and less land in the Third World is available for growing food for local people to eat. Thousands of small farmers in Mexico, the Philippines, and elsewhere, including the US, are losing their land each year to wealthy farmers and multinational corporations like Del Monte. These farmers and corporations are more interested in higher profits than hungry people. Growing carnations in Columbia is 80 times more protitable for the corporations involved than the wheat that small farmers used to grow to feed themselves.

In the past few years, government policies in Brazil have converted land producing black beans for consumption into land producing soybeans for export. As a result, export income has increased for debt-ridden Brazil. But so has malnutrition. Black beans have long been an essential element in the diet of Brazil's poor. Now the poor line up to buy imported and more expensive black beans that many of them used to grow for themselves. With little money, many of Brazil's poor are eating less and less.

Suffering from spiraling debt and trade inequities, Third World countries began calling for basic changes in the economic rules of the game in the 1960's. These changes were put together in 1974 and 1975 in a program of action called the New International Economic Order -- the NIEO, which is described in the essay below.

Discussion Questions

1. Explain the "tractor and coffee" chart on the previous page and how the inequitable terms of trade contribute to world hunger.

2. Why is export or cash cropping increasing in Third World countries, and how does export cropping contribute to world hunger?

3. What did you learn from the story of Mang Gener (above, p. 60) about the relationship between export cropping and world hunger? How do inequitable terms of trade affect his life?

"BASIC PRINCIPLES OF THE NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER (NIEO)"
(Adapted from BREAD AND JUSTICE)

In 1974 and 1975, at the 6th and 7th Special Sessions of the United Nations, the UN formulated a New International Economic Order. This NIEO was spelled out in three basic documents. The basic principles or goals are described in "Principles for a New International Economic Order" and in the "Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States". The policy recommendations for achieving these goals are elaborated in the "Programme of Action".

The four major goals into which all of the policy recommendations fall have as their ultimate objective to "correct inequalities and redress existing injustices, ... eliminate the widening gap between the developed and the developing countries and ensure steadily accelerating economic and social development and peace and justice for present and future generations..." The basic means could only be "a fundamental restructuring of the world economic system." As it stands now, the gap between rich and poor continues to widen. After World War II, the institutions and rules of the present or "old" international economic order were created by the First World to help mainly the First World. And they did! The per capita income (the average income per person) of people in the First World has increased over $2,000 the past 30 years. But the per capita income of people in the Third World has increased only about $120. Clearly, justice demands a "new" international economic order.

There is a remarkable similarity between the four major goals of the NIEO and the understanding of justice underlying this book.

JUSTICE COMPONENTS	NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER GOALS
Sufficient Life-goods	Redistribution of wealth - by changing the mechanisms that distribute wealth (trade, monetary system, corporations)
Dignity or esteem	Development models and technology to be appropriate to local conditions and to the value systems and cultural traditions of Third World countries
Participation	Redistribution of power - (1) Third World sovereignity over their own resources (2) Decision-making power in international economic bodies (3) Collective self-reliance
Interdependence or Solidarity	Interdependence - (1) Global approaches to global problems (2) "Vertical" (based on inequality) vs. "horizontal" (based on sovereignty equality) interdependence

GOAL #1: A Redistribution of Wealth

The first overriding goal of the NIEO could be described as a redistribution of wealth or a transfer of resources from the rich to the poor nations, so as to better meet basic human needs. There are different emphases placed on a basic human needs approach, with some calling for genuine redistribution within Third World countries as well. But it is clear that all versions of a NIEO involve proposals for a direct transfer of resources. First priority is to the nations most seriously affected by hunger or mounting debts. This redistribution of wealth does not mean outright grants of money. Primarily it means changing the institutions or rules that produce and distribute wealth, as the example of Potosi shows us.

One of the first changes needed and demanded by Third World countries is in trade structures. The PRINCIPLES FOR A NIEO call for a

> "Just and equitable relationship between the prices of raw materials, primary products, manufactured and semi-manufactured goods exported by developing countries and the prices of raw materials, primary commodities, manufactures, capital goods and equipment imported by them with the aim of bringing about sustained improvement in their unsatisfactory terms of trade and the expansion of the world economy."

As it stands now, the terms of trade are stacked against most Third World countries, as the reading trade indicated.

With regard to the international monetary system, the PRINCIPLES OF A NIEO state that the NIEO is meant to ensure "that one of the main aims of the reformed international monetary system shall be the promotion of the development of the developing countries and the adequate flow of real resources to them" Measures include greater access to international credit, debts moratoriums and debt renegotiations. As it stands now, a number of Third World countries have to divert 50% or more of all income from their exports to paying off their debts. They need loans to pay off previous loans. Again, the results of this spiral of debt are devastating for the poor as well as for the general economies of Third World countries and threaten the banks and economies of the First World as well.

GOAL #2: Appropriate Models of Development and Technology

Paralleling the dignity component of justice - the cultural rights of persons and societies - is "the right of every country to adopt the economic and social system that it deems to be the most appropriate for its own development and not be subjected to discrimination of any kind as a result". As Third World spokesperson and World Bank economist Mahbub ul Haq states it:

> "We are not chasing the income levels of the rich nations. We do not wish to imitate their lifestyles. We are only suggesting that our societies must have a decent chance to develop, on an equal basis, without systematic discrimination against us, according to our own value systems, and in line with our own cultural traditions."

Large-scale farm machinery may be appropriate for some First World agriculture. But that does not mean it is appropriate at all for Third World agriculture. Because precious energy resources are owned by private enterprise in many First World countries does not mean similar patterns of ownership are good for Third World countries. Bottle-feeding of infants may be the "modern" thing to do in the affluent world. But that does not deny the wisdom of breast-feeding, especially for economically poor women. Growing numbers of individuals and countries are coming to see that "breast is best", rather than "West is best".

GOAL #3: A Redistribution of Power

A global redistribution of power is as vital to restructuring the world economic system as it is to the solving of hunger. The right of participation or self-determination is expressed in the UN version of the NIEO in four basic ways. While more radical versions put greater emphasis on measures to empower the powerless sectors within Third World countries, the UN version focuses primarily on the three ways of increasing the power of Third World countries: 1) greater control over their own resources, 2) greater share in the decision-making power within international agencies, and 3) greater unity through collective self-reliance.

1. Economic Sovereignty

The NIEO calls, first, for the "full permanent sovereignty of every State over its natural resources and all economic activities." As it stands now, most Third World countries have almost as little voice in the formulation of the economic rules of the game as they did during the colonial era. Potosi is a graphic example.

In each of these and many other cases, like the value of Third World currencies, the amounts and conditions of the foreign aid they receive, the terms of investment contracts with multinational corporations, and the kind of technology they use, the results are all mostly determined by forces on which the Third World has little influence.

This right to economic sovereignty is asserted first in relationship to the multinational corporations. The PRINCIPLES FOR A NIEO say that countries have the "right of nationalization or transfer of ownership to its nationals." This means that countries can take over the operation and ownership of foreign corporations located in their country. One of the best examples was Chile's nationalization in 1971 of Kennecott and Anaconda, the multinational corporations that owned and operated Chile's copper mines (see BREAD AND JUSTICE, Chapter 10).

Next, the NIEO asserts the right to sovereignty in relationship to the forms of neocolonialism in the world, especially apartheid. South Africans have the right, this means, to overthrow such a racist regime by force. The NIEO further calls other nations to support liberation struggles against these forms of neocolonialism.

2. Decision-Making in Global Institutions

The second way in which power is to be redistributed in the NIEO is in relationship to decision-making power in the international economic bodies. According to the PRINCIPLES OF A NIEO, this means "full and effective participation on the basis of equality of all countries in the solving of world economic problems in the common interest of all countries..." The "Programme of Action" makes this redistribution of power more specific. It calls for a redistribution of voting power in the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. At present in the World Bank, the U.S. has 20.3% of the votes, and five other First World countries (Japan, Canada, England, France, and West Germany) have another 29.4%. Thus, with 50% of the votes, six nations control an organization that is also supposed to be beneficial to over 100 Third World nations. It usually turns out that those who make the rules get the goods.

3. Collective Self-Reliance

The third expression of increased self-determination among Third World countries is called "collective self-reliance". This means countries with similar or complementary problems and/or resources band together, to better deal with their situations. One important expression of collective self-reliance is the strengthening of "producer associations" (called "cartels" by their critics). As noted at the beginning of this essay, it has been this growing bargaining power of Third World producer associations that has made the First World take the NIEO somewhat seriously. It is clear that the restructuring of the world economic system that the NIEO envisions will depend on this bargaining power.

Before the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) was created, the oil resources of the Arab nations and of Indonesia, Nigeria, Venezuela and Ecuador were totally controlled by the seven giant multinational oil companies. The benefit to the countries whose oil it was was quite little compared to the benefit to the corporations. Thus, it seems that both economic sovereignty and a redistribution of goods depend more and more on collective self-reliance.

It should be becoming clear, then, that without such fundamental changes in the distribution of global economic power, poverty cannot be overcome. Higher prices, more trade, more credit, more technology - that is, a redistribution of wealth - will not suffice. As ul Haq correctly observes:

> "There is much other evidence of instances in which unequal economic relationships have led to a denial of economic opportunities to the poorer nations, but the basic point already has been made: in the international order, just as much as within national orders, initial poverty itself becomes the most formidable handicap in the way of redressing such poverty unless there is a fundamental change in the existing power structure."

If you can imagine playing "Monopoly" against someone who starts the game with several hotels already in place, you have an idea of what ul Haq is saying. Reflect back on the example of Potosi, Bolivia. We can all see how meaningless a gesture it would be for Spain, for instance, to send Potosi 1% of the silver wealth it extracted as foreign aid and expect that such aid would solve Bolivian poverty. How stupid, we would say, it is for those Spaniards who are urging the Bolivians to "work harder" and "pull yourselves up by your own bootstraps - if we could do it, so can you!" But First World people keep saying these things, even today. It is obvious that Potosi can never develop until the economic relationship between it and Spain is radically changed. That is what ul Haq is saying here and that is what the Third World keeps trying to say in the negotiations on the NIEO.

GOAL #4: Interdependence

The fourth goal of the NIEO is the same as the fourth component of justice. As the PRINCIPLES OF A NIEO state:

> "Current events have brought into sharp focus the realization that the interests of the developed countries and those of the developing countries can no longer be isolated from each other, that there is close interrelationship between the prosperity of the developed countries and the growth and development of the

> developing countries, and that the prosperity of the international community as a whole depends upon the prosperity of its constituent parts."

It is basically self-interest on the part of the First World that has brought about this recent realization of the need for interdependence.

First, there is the growing awareness that the economies of First World countries are more and more dependent on Third World raw materials (and cheap labor and markets as well). As mentioned above, it has been primarily the economic power of OPEC that has brought the First World to the negotiation tables, willing to collaborate to some extent. Then there is the relative decrease in First World military power. The U.S. defeat in Southeast Asia and the spread of nuclear weapons technology to several Third World countries have strengthened the hand of the Third World. Furthermore, population trends show that the Third World's percentage of the world's population is increasing from today's 70% of the total to 80% in 2000 and 90% in 2050. Add these together and you get a real shift in the bargaining power of the Third World. Thus, it is becoming clear that the long-term self-interest of the First World necessitates some accommodation to the Third World.

Secondly, First World countries are talking interdependence because it is finally obvious that they are no longer able, if they ever were, to solve on their own a whole series of problems eroding their security and well-being. Gerry and Pat Mische's excellent book, TOWARD A HUMAN WORLD ORDER, puts these problems in three categories.

(1) Military insecurity - the balance of weapons competition. The arms race, the spread of nuclear weapons and nuclear power, and the arms trade are all mushrooming. Well over $400 billion was spent on the military worldwide in fiscal year 1980 and yet there is greater insecurity than ever!

(2) Monetary insecurity - the balance of payments competition. Nations are scrambling to get greater shares of world exports and to protect their own industries from cheaper imports. With the value of their currencies fluctuating, with inflation, with their deficits and debts growing, all nations wonder what their economic futures will be. First World countries are coming see that the international economic system that they created is breaking down and that they are unable to stop the process.

(3) Resource insecurity - competition for scarce resources. Overfishing the world's oceans, gobbling up the world's energy resources, ever increasing production and consumption of goods, supporting dictatorships that promise us access to their country's resources all indicate insecurity as well as greed.

In face of these insecurities and other, interdependence seems to be a growing necessity. But interdependence is a tricky term. It implies cooperation and mutual benefit. But there are really two types of interdependence, which we might call vertical interdependence and horizontal interdependence. Vertical interdependence is best described by Denis Goulet: "masters and slaves were bound to each other's interests as interdependent partners in a single enterprise, the plantation." Vertical interdependence is a relationship of inequality - someone on top and others on the bottom. The current economic order is based on this kind of interdependence.

Any calls to increase this vertical interdependence - for instance, through increased trade - actually reinforces the privileged position of the few on top at the expense of the many on the bottom. Increasing the interaction between parties of unequal bargaining power only perpetuates the inequities of the current international economic system.

This is why the PRINCIPLES FOR A NIEO calls for an interdependence that is based on equality. This horizontal interdependence is as concerned with future generations as it is with the present one. In the words of the UN document:

> "Thus, the political, economic and social well-being of present and future generations depends more than ever on cooperation between all members of the international community on the basis of sovereign equality and the removal of the disequilibrium (inequality) that exists between them."

As with the other basic goals of the NIEO, there are different views on how far to go in implementing an interdependence based on sovereign equality. The Third World, especially the more radical perspectives within it, are pushing hard for the horizontal interdependence pictured above. But most First World countries are back at vertical interdependence, which does not require any real redistribution of global economic and political power.

Conclusion and 1984 Update

The NIEO remains to this day largely on paper. In 1979, the developing countries (known as the Group of 77) proposed a global round of comprehensive negotiations (referred to as Global Negotiations) aimed at implementing the NIEO. But UNCTAD V in Manila(1979) and the 11th Special Session of the UN (1980) failed to bring agreement on even the procedures for holding such negotiations. The US, along with England and W. Germany, blocked a compromise on the jurisdiction of the General Assembly over the specialized agencies like the IMF and the World Bank. An economic summit meeting of 22 world leaders in Cancun, Mexico (1981) gave some initial hope for a breakthrough but it was short-lived. The Group of 77 proposed (March 1982) a formal text for starting Global Negotiations. To gain US approval, this text was ammended by Canada at the Versailles summit meeting (June 1982) of First World countries, but the amendments were unacceptable to the Group of 77. Thus, the 36th and 37th General Assemblies of the UN (1982-83) ended without agreement. At the 38th General Assembly (December 1983), Global Negotiations were consigned to informal "exploratory" discussions.

In conclusion, then, it is safe to say that Global Negotiations and the NIEO are still in limbo. But as GLOBAL NEGOTIATIONS ACTION NOTES (May 20, 1984) notes, "Much of the value of the NIEO lies in the less tangible but nevertheless crucial area of government consciousness and broader recognition of what is significant and necessary in iternational economic relations. It has placed North-South issues firmly on the international agenda. It has demonstrated on that level the need for overall, integrated and comprehensive change of the system itself. And it has provided a concrete, unified Third World position in economic negotiations."

Discussion Questions

1. Why do you think there is so much resistance on the part of some First World governments to the NIEO? Is this resistance reasonable or unreasonable? In what ways?

2. Why is it so important for Third World countries to pursue their own models of development? What keeps them from doing so more effectively?

3. Why is "economic sovereignty" such an important and emotional issue for Third World countries? Are they being reasonable? Why or why not?

4. Do you agree that "Those who make the rules get the goods"? Why or why not?

5. What is the difference between "vertical interdependence" and horizontal interdependence"? Is real "horizontal interdependence" possible? How can it be brought about?

Notes:

1. PRINCIPLES OF A NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER, Preamble; from the 6th Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly, 1974. All further non-footnoted quotations in the essay are also from this document.
2. Jeremiah Novak, "In Defense of the Third World", AMERICA, January 21, 1978, p. 36.
3. Mahbub ul Haq, THE THIRD WORLD AND THE INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER (Washington, D.C.: Overseas Development Council, 1976), p. 11.
4. Ibid., p. 7
5. Ibid, pp. 12-18; and Jan Tinbergen, RESHAPING THE INTERNATIONAL ORDER (E.P. Dutton, 1978), pp. 22-23, 47-48.
6. Denis Goulet, "Interdependence: Verbal Smokescreen or New Ethic?" (Washington, D.C. Overseas Development Council, 1976).

NEW INTERNAL/NATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDERS

From "Bread, Justice, and Trade" Filmstrip

"But what if tariffs are lowered and if the prices on Third World raw materials exports are raised? Will it be the cocoa workers in Ghana and the sugar workers in the Dominican Republic who will benefit? Will higher prices and profits be passed on to Third World workers in the form of higher wages? Or will it be the large cocoa plantation owners in Ghana, and Gulf & Western and other large owners of the sugar industry in the Dominican Republic who will be the beneficiaries of these additional revenues? Will increased tax revenues to Third World governments be spent on better human services such as education, medical care and housing that will benefit the majority, or will this revenue go to the military and for luxury buildings in a few large cities? Will increased income from cash crops drive wealthy farmers and multinational corporations to grab even more land from small farmers? Or will the increased income go to agricultural development measures to direct land, credit, and other essentials to small farmers trying to grow food for local consumption?

The answers to these questions depend on Third World government priorities and on the extent to which these governments are truly of the people, for the people, and by the people. In other words, the New International Economic Order demands a new internal economic order as well, if bread and justice are to be realized for cocoa and sugar workers and the majority of Third World peoples.

Such a new internal economic order would include at least 5 elements: basic needs, participation, self-reliance, appropriate technology, and human rights. This means, first, meeting the basic needs of all before allowing or providing luxuries for a few; second, increasing opportunities for people to participate in political and economic decision-making, rather than decisions being made by a few rulers and corporations; third, promoting self-reliance strategies so that people and the country as a whole are less and less dependent on foreign sources for basic needs like food; fourth, development of a technology that builds on the culture, skills, and resources of the people and the country, rather than importing technology that may only be appropriate to a few industrialized countries; and fifth, protection of peoples' basic human rights, rather than the repression so common to military dictatorships throughout the Third World today.

Discussion Questions

1. Why is a new internal economic order as important as a New International Economic Order?

2. Why are each of the 5 elements of the new internal economic order important?

3. Match these 5 elements with the 4 principles of self-reliant development (next page) and show how they embody the 4 components of justice (next page)

4 PRINCIPLES OF SELF-RELIANT DEVELOPMENT

A model of development that emphasizes:

1. Meeting the basic needs of the masses of people

2. through strategies geared to the particular human and natural resources, values, and traditions of the people

3. and through strategies maximizing the collective efforts of people within each country/community.

4. and among countries/communities.

4 COMPONENTS OF JUSTICE

1. Sufficient life goods (those economic rights of people without which human life is impossible)

2. Dignity or esteem (the cultural right of individuals and societies to have their value/uniqueness recognized, affirmed, and called forth)

3. Participation (the political rights of individuals and societies to shape their own destinies or participate in decision-making that affects them)

4. Solidarity (the corresponding duty to work with and for others in the mutual achievement of these rights)

SOME COMPARISONS BETWEEN
CAPITALISM AND SOCIALISM(S)

	CAPITALISM	SOCIALISM(S)
SUFFICIENT LIFE-GOODS	- What is produced is determined, in part, by supply and demand ("effective need") and by what will produce a profit - Distribution, first, according to one's ability to pay	- What is produced is determined, in part, by societal needs, as determined by those who make economic decisions - Distribution, first, according to one's need
ESTEEM	- Opportunities/incentives for those with resources to be creative, take initiative - Esteem largely in one's individual performance - Private ownership as a means of esteem and national wealth as a measure of national esteem	- Esteem largely in terms of one's contribution to the community; more emphasis on "voluntary work" - Within this communitarian context, opportunities for most to be creative in terms of what the group feels the community needs
PARTICIPATION	- "Free enterprise" - means of production in the hands of the holders of capital - Production/distribution decisions largely in hands of managers and capitalists - Freedom largely as "freedom from" - government regulation minimally desired; individual freedoms	- Means of production in the hands of the representatives of the people (government) - "Worker control" - workers participate in decisions in the workplace - Freedom largely as "freedom for" (There are significant differences between centralized and decentralized versions of socialism, and between atheistic and theistic versions in terms of basic freedoms.)
INTER-DEPENDENCE	- Competition as the moving force - Each person expected to provide for their own needs individually, though reforms are meant to provide for those unable to do so	- "Good" in terms of the good of the community - Basic needs of all met before luxury needs of some are permissible - CLASS STRUGGLE, SOMETIMES VIOLENT (though "Moralist-Idealist" versions reject violence)

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CASE STUDY ON GENERAL FOODS CORPORATION AND EL SALVADOR

Introduction

External agents, even giant multinational corporation, are not the only factor in global economic injustice. This case study allows the relationship between external and internal factors to be perceived and reveals some of the indirect ways in which corporate policies affect peoples' lives. The point-counterpoint approach on the General Foods vs. Global Justice perspectives on the issue, the role-play of the General Foods' stockholders' meeting, and the ranking of agents responsible for the injustice in El Salvador all invite students to evaluate the issue and formulate their own perspective before inviting them to action of the issue.

To teach the essential elements of this case study, present (orally or duplicate for student reading) the General Foods vs Global Justice perspectives (section B1: "The Situation: Coffee Workers, General Foods, and Global Justice"); discuss the questions and do the role-play in section B2; do the ranking activity in section B3; and then focus on the action possibilities.

As background information and a helpful perspective for considering this case study, you might do several things:
-- show the INSTITUTIONAL VIOLENCE slide/tape presentation and/or duplicate the script (see the unit on "Institutional Violence" in Volume I; the slide/tape presentation is available for rental from the Institute for Peace and Justice) as a way of presenting the notion of "the spiral of violence".

-- Present the data on "US Multinational Corporations in Central America" (section A) and have students discuss the questions at the end of that page.

-- Compare the situation of Guatemalan and Salvadoran coffee workers Jorge and Roberto with stories of the coffee workers in Nicaragua before and after the revolution (see the "Case Study on Nicaragua").

-- Show the 25-minute slide/tape presentation DOLLARS AND DICTATORS (from the Resource Center, Box 4726, Albuquerque, NM 87196; 505-266-5009) that offers a critical perspective on the history of US economic and military intervention in Central America. Caution: because of its critical perspective, have students consider it as part of their learning the perspective of Global Justice in the case study.

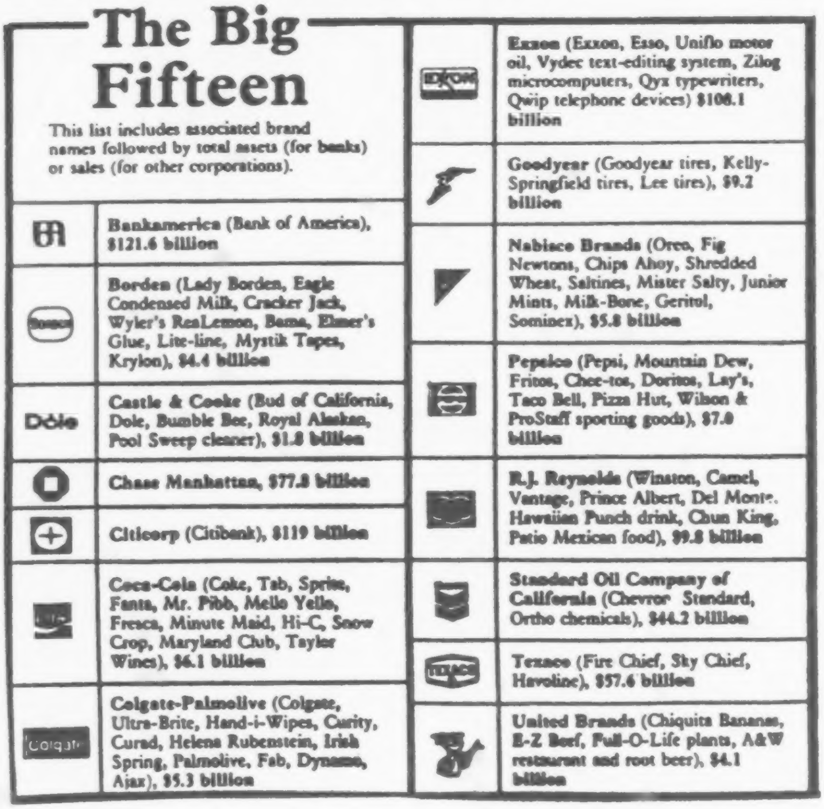
If you want to expand this case study into a larger case study on El Salvador, several resources would be especially helpful:
-- EL SALVADOR: ROOTS OF CONFLICT: A Curriculum Guide is an excellent 10-lesson 1982 high school curriculum produced by the Teachers Committee on Central America (5511 Vincente Way, Oakland, CA 94609) that focuses particularly on the economic and political realities of El Salvador and US policy in point-counterpoint fashion.

-- "Central America: What US educators Need to Know" is the title of an 1982 (Vol. 13, #2 & 3) BULLETIN of the Council on Interracial Books for Children. It critiques US textbooks on Central America, offers profiles of each country, perspectives on women and" minorities", a lesson plan on El Salvador, and a good bibliography.

-- In terms of films on El Salvador and Central America, consult the Central American Film Library from ICARUS (200 Park Ave. South, New York, NY 10003; 212-674-3375) and the GUIDE TO FILMS ON CENTRAL AMERICA from Media Network (208- W. 13th St., New York, NY 10011; 212-620-0877). AMERICAS IN TRANSITION is one of the best of these AVs.

A.US MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS IN CENTRAL AMERICA

WHICH CORPORATIONS/BANKS AND PRODUCTS?



The Big Fifteen

This list includes associated brand names followed by total assets (for banks) or sales (for other corporations).

	Bankamerica (Bank of America), $121.6 billion
	Borden (Lady Borden, Eagle Condensed Milk, Cracker Jack, Wyler's ReaLemon, Bama, Elmer's Glue, Lite-line, Mystik Tapes, Krylon), $4.4 billion
Dole	**Castle & Cooke** (Bud of California, Dole, Bumble Bee, Royal Alaskan, Pool Sweep cleaner), $1.8 billion
	Chase Manhattan, $77.8 billion
	Citicorp (Citibank), $119 billion
	Coca-Cola (Coke, Tab, Sprite, Fanta, Mr. Pibb, Mello Yello, Fresca, Minute Maid, Hi-C, Snow Crop, Maryland Club, Taylor Wines), $6.1 billion
Colgate	**Colgate-Palmolive** (Colgate, Ultra-Brite, Hand-i-Wipes, Curity, Curad, Helena Rubenstein, Irish Spring, Palmolive, Fab, Dynamo, Ajax), $5.3 billion
EXXON	**Exxon** (Exxon, Esso, Uniflo motor oil, Vydec text-editing system, Zilog microcomputers, Qyx typewriters, Qwip telephone devices) $108.1 billion
	Goodyear (Goodyear tires, Kelly-Springfield tires, Lee tires), $9.2 billion
	Nabisco Brands (Oreo, Fig Newtons, Chips Ahoy, Shredded Wheat, Saltines, Mister Salty, Junior Mints, Milk-Bone, Geritol, Sominex), $5.8 billion
	Pepsico (Pepsi, Mountain Dew, Fritos, Chee-tos, Doritos, Lay's, Taco Bell, Pizza Hut, Wilson & ProStaff sporting goods), $7.0 billion
	R.J. Reynolds (Winston, Camel, Vantage, Prince Albert, Del Monte. Hawaiian Punch drink, Chun King, Patio Mexican food), $9.8 billion
	Standard Oil Company of California (Chevron Standard, Ortho chemicals), $44.2 billion
TEXACO	**Texaco** (Fire Chief, Sky Chief, Havoline), $57.6 billion
	United Brands (Chiquita Bananas, E-Z Beef, Full-O-Life plants, A&W restaurant and root beer), $4.1 billion

IN WHAT COUNTRIES?

THE BIG FIFTEEN:

BELIZE: Dole; Chase-Manhattan.

GUATEMALA: Bankamerica; Citicorp; Exxon; Pepsi; Nabisco; Colgate; Coca-Cola; Del Monte Borden; Texaco; United Brands Goodyear; Chevron.

EL SALVADOR: Bankamerica; Exxon; Coca-Cola; Goodyear; Nabisco; Citicorp; Chevron; Texaco; Chase-Manhattan.

HONDURAS: Dole; Chevron; Citicorp; Del Monte; Exxon; Coca-Cola; Texaco; Nabisco; Colgate; Chase-Manhattan.

NICARAGUA: Chevron; Coca-Cola; Bankamerica; Citicorp; Texaco; Dole; Exxon; Borden; Nabisco; United Brands.

COSTA RICA: Chevron; Coca-Cola; Bankamerica; Colgate; Nabisco; Pepsi; Chase-Manhattan; Citicorp; Goodyear; Exxon; Borden; Texaco; Del Monte; United Brands; Dole.[7]

PANAMA: Del Monte; Citicorp; Chase-Manhattan; Colgate; Pepsi; United Brands; Chevron; Texaco; Borden; Dole; Goodyear; Nabisco; Exxon; Coca-Cola; Bankamerica.

HOW MANY?

US Corporations in Central America:

In Guatemala -- 134 US companies
In El Salvador -- 67 US companies
In Honduras -- 60 US companies
In Nicaragua -- 70 US companies
In Costa Rica -- 113 US companies
In Belize -- 11 US companies
In Panama -- 266 US companies

(This data is from DOLLARS AND DICTATORS, a book slide/tate presentation from the Resource Center)

WHAT DOES THIS MEAN?

-- Compare the size of the multinational corporations and banks with the Central American countries in which they operate by adding the total assets/sales (listed in "The Big Fifteen" box) and comparing that figure with the country's gross domestic product (see the data in the boxes around the map on the following page.

-- Compare General Foods' 1983 sales of $8.3 billion with the gross domestic product of Guatemala and El Salvador.

-- What are some of the possible implications of these comparisons? What can happen as a result of these imbalances?

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B. GENERAL FOODS CORPORATION AND EL SALVADOR

1. The Situation: Coffee Workers, General Foods and Global Justice

El Salvador is an agrarian, coffee-producing country in Central America, about the size of Massachusetts. El Salvador has the worst income inequality in Latin America. The wealthiest 2%, known as the Fourteen Families, has long controlled over half the farmland. 60% of all Salvadorans own no land on which to grow food for their families. Most of the rest own plots too small to subsist. There is a shortage of basic foods in El Salvador due to the emphasis on export crops like coffee. This food crisis has become acute since the military began burning staple crops during raids on rural villages. Until the civil war began in 1979, El Salvador was Latin America's 4th largest coffee producer. At that time, 4% of the 40,800 coffee growers in El Salvador controlled 67% of that country's coffee production.

Living in the US or Canada, it is hard to imagine what life would be like as a Salvadoran coffee worker. Interviews with refugees from coffee plantations in El Salvador and Guatemala reveal that life is a nightmare for migrant laborers on these plantations: long work days for unjust wages averaging 25¢ an hour per family; subsistence diets of beans and tortillas; contaminated water; no toilets, health care, schools, or even shelter beyond a roof on poles; high infant mortality. More graphically, in the words of Jorge (a Guatemalan Indian peasant who began picking coffee at the age of 10) and Roberto (a 23-year-old Salvadoran who worked in the coffee fields from 1973-1979):

Jorge:

"We were carried to the coffee plantations like cattle. There were 50-70 people in the truck. We had to stand up. The trip took about 15 hours. . .We worked 6 days a week and rested on Sunday. We worked from 6:30 AM to 6:30 PM. My mother got up at 3 AM to grind the corn to make tortillas. In 3 or 4 months time (the length of the annual coffee harvest), we were able to save between $70 and $80. This helped us to return to our village and buy some corn.

"For our family of six, the plantation owner gave us 2-3 pounds of corn each week. He also gave us 1 pound of beans and 1 pound of lime (for the tortillas). When the coffee harvest is over, you go back to your village, pale and weak because you haven't eaten."

"Since the coffee plants are very sweet, children chew on them. They get dysentery (from the pesticides). The children get so sick that they even die.

"I have never been to school because I always had to work. When I was very young, I began working on everything related to coffee growing.

"They (overseers) beat us up with a machete. They just hit you with the flat part of the machete. It not only hurts but it is also very dangerous."

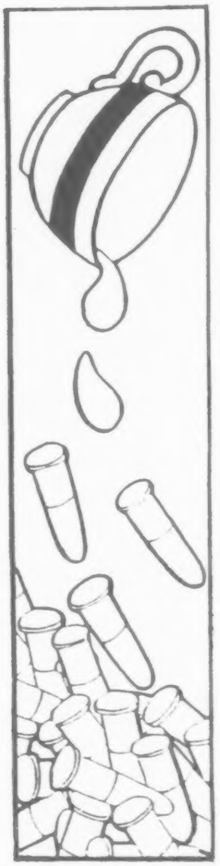
Roberto:

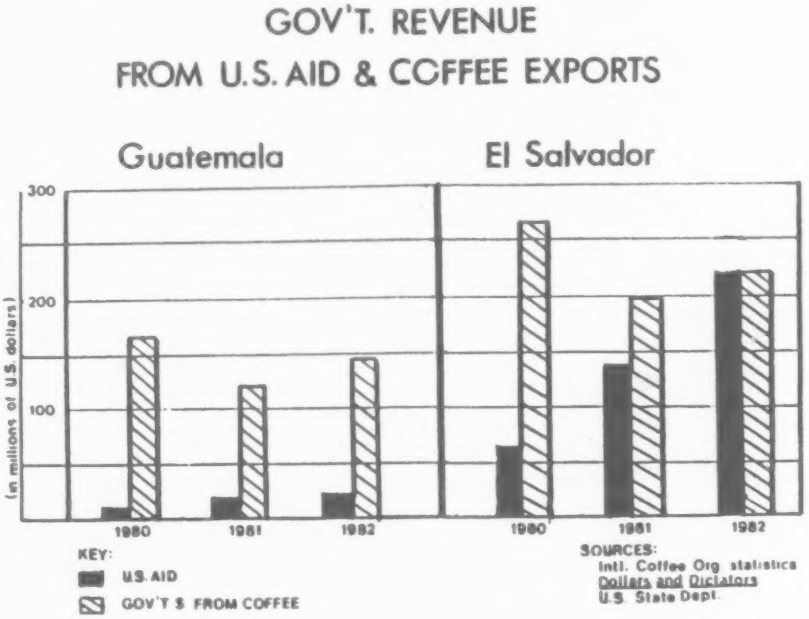
"When I worked on the coffee plantations, I ate when I had money, but many times, I didn't have anything. Others provide food and deduct it from your pay. They give you two corn tortillas and sometimes beans with garbage and dirt in them.

"On some plantations, they provide 'galeras' (outdoor shelter for 75 to 125 people without any privacy or protection) for the workers. I have also worked on plantations where there is nothing and we slept under the coffee plants.

"It is very dangerous because in that room ('galera') we are all so close together. As a result there is a lot of sickness and a lot of suffering.
"All the management from the lowest to the highest level, especially in the later years, were very cruel to their workers. They threaten people and fire people, right and left."

"Let me emphasize that for El Salvador, coffee is the heart of the economy. . . Coffee still means 60% of our foreign earnings and 15% of our gross national product." (El Salvador's Minister of Trade, February 1, 1981). In January, 1980, the Salvadoran government nationalized the marketing of coffee and set up INCAFE as its agency to buy, process, market, and export Salvadoran coffee. By significantly reducing the profit margin for coffee growers through the nationalization of coffee marketing, the government has greatly increased its revenue to help finance the civil war. As the following chart shows for both El Salvador and Guatemala, revenue from coffee exports has been much larger for Guatemala than from US aid and larger for EL Salvador up until 1982 when US aid began multiplying tremendously:





SOURCES:
Intl. Coffee Org statistics
Dollars and Dictators
U.S. State Dept.

3 YEAR TOTALS

	Guatemala	El Salvador
U.S. Aid	$ 48 mill.	$ 437 mill.
Coffee $	$ 431 mill.	$ 691 mill.

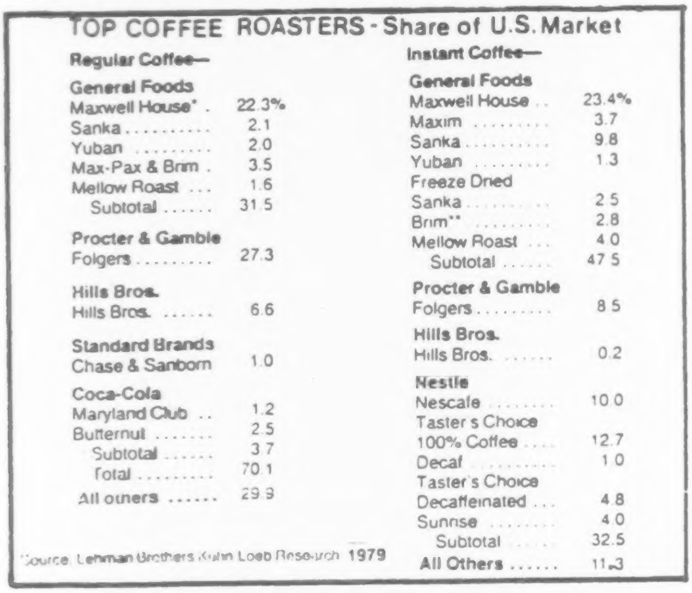
World Bank Statistics show that half of the revenue from the sale of Salvadoran and Guatemalan coffee goes directly to these government, well-known for their human rights abuses. Thus, it is not surprising to hear Jorge and Roberto and other Central American refugees urge us North Americans to stop the financing of human rights abuses in Central America through our purchases of Salvadoran coffee and through our tax dollars:

Jorge: "You should stop importing coffee because the money goes to the Guatemalan government."

Roberto: "Giving money to the government is an abuse to the people of El Salvador. That money only benefits the coffee owners and the government. It helps them to exploit the poor more."

The Interfaith Campaign to Halt Salvadoran and Guatemalan Coffee was launched in May 1983 by GLOBAL JUSTICE and participating grassroots groups with an initial focus on General Foods, the world's largest coffee distributor. By purchasing Salvadoran and Guatemalan coffee, General Foods is, in effect, making multi-million dollar contributions to the governments of El Salvador and Guatemala.

General Foods is the 39th largest US corporation with fiscal 1983 sales at $8.3 billion. As one of the world's largest food corporations, General Foods has 88 manufacturing and processing plants and 20 distribution warehouses around the world. It is the #3 advertiser in the US -- spending $456.8 million in ads in 1981 alone. General Foods has become a household word with brand names such as: Post cereals, Gaines dog food, Birds Eye frozen vegetables, Oscar Mayer meats, Swans Down cakes, Entenmann's pastries, Kool-Aid, Jell-O, Stove Top, Tang, Log Cabin, Minute Rice, etc. Its coffee sales have captured the largest part of both the regular and instant coffee markets in the US, as the following chart reveals:



TOP COFFEE ROASTERS - Share of U.S. Market

Regular Coffee—	
General Foods	
Maxwell House*	22.3%
Sanka	2.1
Yuban	2.0
Max-Pax & Brim	3.5
Mellow Roast	1.6
Subtotal	31.5
Procter & Gamble	
Folgers	27.3
Hills Bros.	
Hills Bros.	6.6
Standard Brands	
Chase & Sanborn	1.0
Coca-Cola	
Maryland Club	1.2
Butternut	2.5
Subtotal	3.7
Total	70.1
All others	29.9

Instant Coffee—	
General Foods	
Maxwell House	23.4%
Maxim	3.7
Sanka	9.8
Yuban	1.3
Freeze Dried	
Sanka	2.5
Brim**	2.8
Mellow Roast	4.0
Subtotal	47.5
Procter & Gamble	
Folgers	8.5
Hills Bros.	
Hills Bros.	0.2
Nestle	
Nescafe	10.0
Taster's Choice	
100% Coffee	12.7
Decaf	1.0
Taster's Choice	
Decaffeinated	4.8
Sunrise	4.0
Subtotal	32.5
All Others	11.3

Source: Lehman Brothers Kuhn Loeb Research 1979

On July 20, 1983, supporters of the Interfaith Campaign to Halt Salvadoran and Guatemalan Coffee greeted 600 General Foods stockholders with banners and signs, as they entered their annual meeting in Port Chester, NY. As spokesperson, Ann Loretan noted: "General Foods's stockholders have an urgent responsibility to convince their corporation to end its complicity with these military regimes in El Salvador and Guatemala.... Over $400 million each year in coffee revenues goes directly to these governments. They, in turn, use this money to further the violence against the Salvadoran and Guatemalan people..." Inside the stockholders' meeting, Rev. Dan Driscoll, MM, spokesperson for the religious stockholders of General Foods, read a statement in which he appealed to General Foods to 1) seek justice in Central America; 2) end all coffee imports from El Salvador and Guatemala until these governments end their gross violations of the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights; and 3) meet with church shareholders to discuss this matter.

These events, combined with the grassroots pressure prior to the stockholders' meeting, resulted in General Foods agreeing to meet with its religious stockholders. This meeting occurred on March 2, 1984, which meeting GLOBAL JUSTICE characterized as "a good initial communication session with General Foods officials." A stockholder resolution embodying the 3 points presented at the 1983 stockholders' meeting was filed for the July 1984 stockholders' meeting and received 2.9% of the vote.

Individuals and groups are asked to write General Foods and urge them to comply with these 3 points, but as of the fall of 1984, no consumer boycott of General Foods has been launched (although individuals are free to do so), for several reasons:

-- Given our assessment of potential resources available for this Campaign, we believe that a consumer boycott is not a realistic strategy. For example, the United Farm Workers feel they need $500,000/year in order to coordinate a consumer boycott of Lucky supermarkets, a relatively small corporation. GLOBAL JUSTICE is looking at a 1984 budget of around $15,000 to take on the 39th largest US corporation. We do not have the resources to hire dozens of trained boycott organizers, necessary to make an economic dent in the company's $8 billion/year sales.

-- We believe that a consumer boycott is not the most effective way to accomplish our immediate goal of getting General Foods to stop buying Salvadoran and Guatemalan coffee. Our corporate research indicates that General Foods has a history of responsiveness to public concerns and likes to maintain a liberal and pristine public image. We believe the best way to get the company to change its policy is to pursue stragegies that associate General Foods' public image with the financing of human rights atrocities in Central America.

-- Potential religious supporters of this Campaign have expressed concern that a consumer boycott would have an unfair impact on coffee workers in Africa and South America. Less than 10% of a "Maxwell House can" comes from El Salvador and Guatemala because it's a blend from many coffee-producing countries. More research is needed before we could responsibly advocate a consumer boycott of a "blend".

We certainly do not want ot discourage individuals from rethinking their individual purchasing habits, regarding all import crops. As people of faith, we have a responsibility to be concerned about the impact of our consumer habits on our Third World brothers and sisters. But this is beyond the scope of this Campaign and should not be blurred with a Campaign strategy to bring about a specific corporate reform.

(The above from a statement by the Interfaith Campaign to Halt Salvadoran and Guatemalan Coffee.)

Coffee – produced by the poor countries, drunk by the rich countries.

GENERAL FOODS RESPONDS:

(The following is an excerpt from a letter from General Foods Corporate Issues Manager to the Better Business Bureau, dated Dec. 23, 1983)

> "While we share your concern about violations of human rights, we must decline your request that we stop the purchases as a sanction against the governments in these countries.
>
> We feel that sanctions against foreign governments are appropriately instituted by government. Furthermore, we wonder whether stopping these purchases might not increase, rather than decrease, human suffering, although we do not have the expertise to definitively assess possible consequences. Indeed we can hardly imagine a situation in which a business corporation could claim competence to make such a political assessment on the basis of its own knowledge. Thus, we are reluctant to act as a prime agent of political change -- a position that we believe conforms with the expectations of the American people regarding the scope of corporate activity.
>
> If you haven't already done so, you might wish to make your views known to your representatives in Washington during the current review of US policy toward Central America."

2. Some Questions on the General Foods Stockholders Meeting

Campaign spokesperson Ann Loretan called on General Foods to "end its complicity" with the violence by the El Salvadoran and Guatemalan governments against their own people.

-- What does "complicity" mean?
-- Why does she think the corporation is "complicit" in this violence?
-- Do you agree with her? Why or why not?

General Foods claims that this is a matter of US foreign policy, a political matter, and that concern should therefore be directed at the White House and the US Congress, not at the corporation.

-- Do you agree with the corporation on this? Why or why not?

Ann Loretan also claims that "stockholders have an urgent responsibility" in this matter.

-- In what sense, if any, are stockholders "responsible" for the activities of the corporations in which they own stock?
-- Do you agree that in this situation the General Foods stockholders have an urgent responsibility?

If you had to choose a role at the stockholders meeting, that role which most closely reflected your own perspective on the issue, which of the following would you choose:

-- a spokesperson for the Interfiath Campaign speaking for the resolution.
-- a member of General Foods board of directors speaking against the resolution.
-- a shareholder rising to speak in favor of the resolution.
-- a shareholder rising to speak against the resolution.
-- a demonstrator outside the meeting speaking to shareholders as they enter and what would you say when you got the chance to speak?

3. Some questions on the situation in El Salvador in general

Which of the following perspectives on the situation in El Salvador do you agree with and why?

-- "The national security of all the Americas is at stake in Central America. If we cannot defend ourselves there, we cannot expect to prevail elsehwere. Our credibiltiy would collapse, our alliances crumble, and the safety of our homeland would be put at jeopardy." Ronald Reagan, April 27, 1983.

-- "The situation in El Salvador presents a case of Soviet, Cuban and other Communist military involvement. Their objective in El Salvador.... is the overthrow of the established government and the imposition of a Communist regime in defiance of the will of the Salvadoran people." From the text of a US State Department report, quoted in the NEW YORK TIMES, February 24, 1981.

-- Though US military support is justified officially on the ground that it helps the people, "our weapons are being used to kill people, commit horrendous atrocities -- burning crops and creating a very serious food shortage." Barbara Mikulski, Democratic Representative from Maryland, quoted in the DENVER POST, January 25, 1981.

-- "Latin America is good business for US corporations, who have approximately $40 billion invested there and will continue their profit-making operations as long as cheap labor and natural resources are available. They would prefer to pay someone $3 a day to do the work for which US workers would receive $40." From a pamphlet of Casa El Salvador-Farabundo Marti, San Francisco: "Is the US creating another Vietnam War in El Salvador?", 1981.

-- "It is the United States, and not the governments which they accuse, that is really intervening in the intenal affairs of El Salvador and threatening the peace of the continent..." Political-Diplomatic Commission of the FMLN and FDR (the armed resistance and political resistance groups in El Salvador).

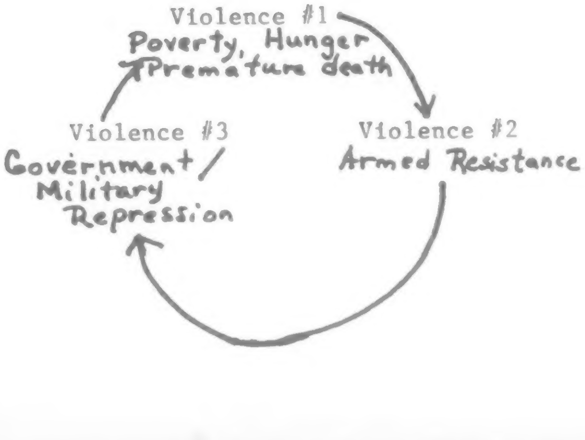
-- The final statements of Jorge and Roberto, the coffee workers, above.

Describe the evil that is being experienced in El Salvador (and Guatemala) as you read the description of the situation above and in the above perspectives. The following four realities are all part of this evil -- poverty, death by the denial of peoples' economic rights, death by government/military action, death by FMLN guerrilla action.

- Which of these four realities do you consider to be the "worst" evil and why? -- What is the relationship among the four?

-What do you think of the following expression of their inter-relationship?

SPIRAL of VIOLENCE



Violence #1 -- "institutional violence" is the denial of peoples' economic rights which means poverty, hunger and premature death; it leads to Violence #2 -- "counter-violence" which is the armed resistance to Violence #1, the guerrilla war waged by the FMLN, and the nonviolent resistance of the Church and other groups and the political resistance of the FDN; which leads to Violence #3 -- "repressive violence" -- the repression by the government, military & paramilitary (death squads) forces.

As a way of helping you identify the most basic causes -- those agents most responsible -- of the evils you have named as being experienced in El Salvador and thus focusing your possible action involvement in this issue on those causes/agents you think need addressing, rank the following agents in terms of their degree of responsibility for these evils (which is first, second, third, etc.):

-- the El Salvadoran government/military
-- General Foods and other multinational corporations
-- The US government
-- The Soviet Union and Cuba
-- The FMLN and FDR
-- The "14 families" (the wealthy 2% of El Salvador)

What is the relationship between "internal" and "external" causes of global economic injustice, between the "internal economic order" and the "international economic order", and between the need for a "new internal economic order" and a "new international economic order"?

4. Some Action Possibilities

-- If you decided that General Foods is partly responsible for the situation, you could write their corporate headquarters about their involvement; you might also choose to boycott their products. Contact Phillip L. Smith, President, General Foods Corporation, 250 North St., White Plains, NY 10625.

-- You might share this concern with your school, family, and friends and encourage their consideration and action on the issue. Contact GLOBAL JUSTICE 2840 Lawrence, Denver, CO 80205; 303-296-9225, for further information and resources to share with other.

-- If you think the US government is partly responsible for the situation, you might write the President and your Congressional representatives in opposition to further US aid, particularly military aid. The Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy is an excellent source for legislative information.

-- If you think the US government is correct in its analysis and policy in El Salcador, you might write the President and Congress in support of US aid to El Salvador.

-- If you want to help Salvadoran and Guatemalan refugees like Jorge and Roberto, contact your local Latin American support group or the national CISPES (Committee in Support of the People of El Salvador, P.O. Box 12056, WAshington, DC 20005) office to find out who to contact in your area. Also NISGUA (Network in Solidarity with the People of Guatemala, 930 F. St., NW, Suite 720, Washington, DC 20004).

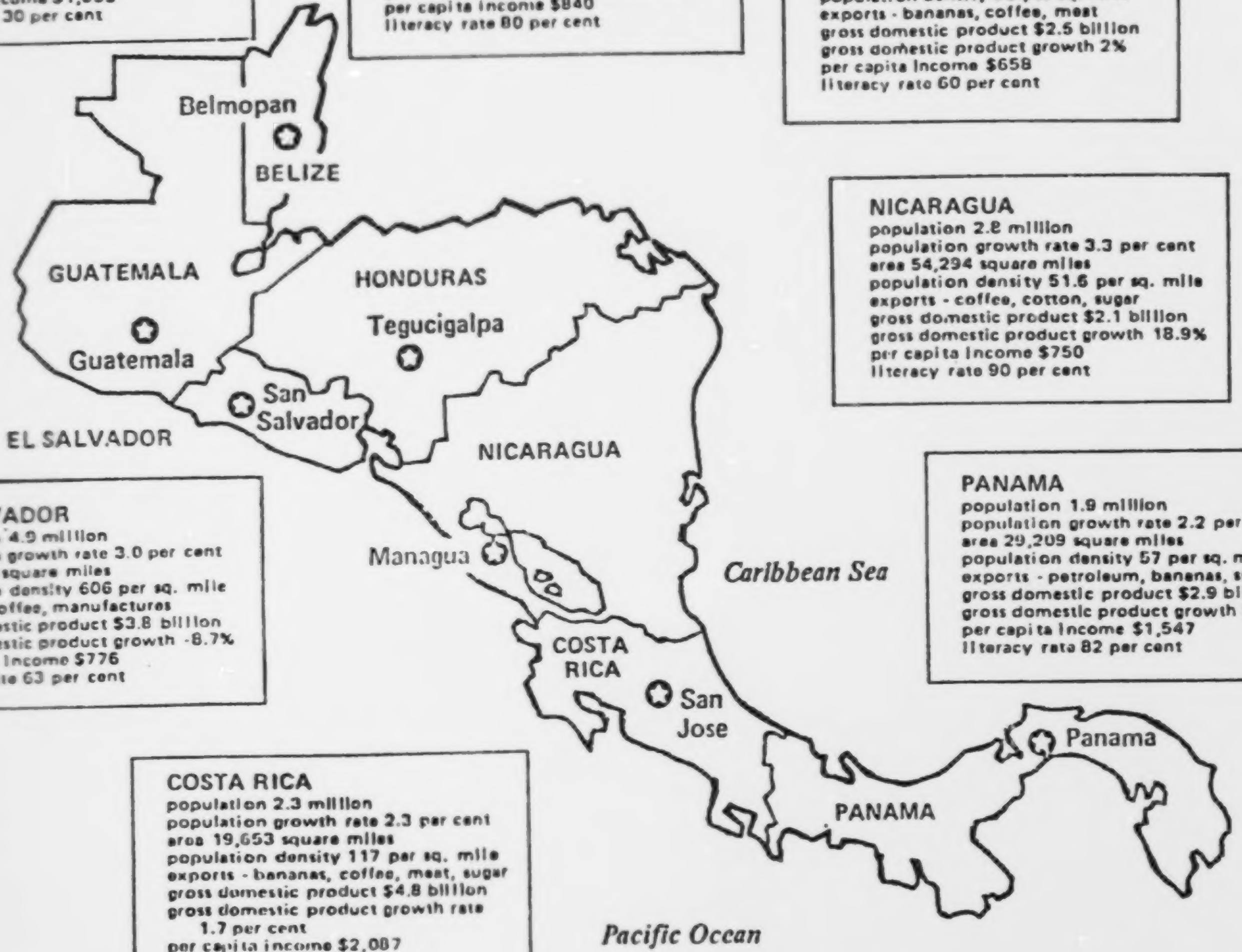
-- You can also support Salvadorans by providing materials for the literacy campaign among refugees in different Central American countries and/or by "adopting a Salvadoran literacy collective" (see this "pairing" possibility in the unit on "Global Interdependence", pp. 112-13below).

-- As a symbol of your concern, you might buy and wear (and share with others) a "seed of hope", a seed with a painted scene made by Salvadoran refugees and distributed by Jubilee Crafts.

GUATEMALA
population 7.5 million
population growth rate 3.0 per cent
area 42,042 square miles
population density 178.4 per sq. mile
exports - coffee, cotton, chemicals, sugar
gross domestic product $7.9 billion
gross domestic product growth 4%
per capita income $1,053
literacy rate 30 per cent

BELIZE
population 158,000
population growth rate 3 per cent
area 8,866 square miles
population density 17.8 per sq. mile
exports - timber, sugar, cattle
gross domestic product $132 million
gross domestic product growth NA
per capita income $840
literacy rate 80 per cent

HONDURAS
population 3.8 million
population growth rate 3.4 per cent
area 43,277 square miles
population density 88 per sq. mile
exports - bananas, coffee, meat
gross domestic product $2.5 billion
gross domestic product growth 2%
per capita income $658
literacy rate 60 per cent



NICARAGUA
population 2.8 million
population growth rate 3.3 per cent
area 54,294 square miles
population density 51.6 per sq. mile
exports - coffee, cotton, sugar
gross domestic product $2.1 billion
gross domestic product growth 18.9%
per capita income $750
literacy rate 90 per cent

EL SALVADOR
population 4.9 million
population growth rate 3.0 per cent
area 8,083 square miles
population density 606 per sq. mile
exports - coffee, manufactures
gross domestic product $3.8 billion
gross domestic product growth -8.7%
per capita income $776
literacy rate 63 per cent

PANAMA
population 1.9 million
population growth rate 2.2 per cent
area 29,209 square miles
population density 57 per sq. mile
exports - petroleum, bananas, sugar
gross domestic product $2.9 billion
gross domestic product growth 5%
per capita income $1,547
literacy rate 82 per cent

COSTA RICA
population 2.3 million
population growth rate 2.3 per cent
area 19,653 square miles
population density 117 per sq. mile
exports - bananas, coffee, meat, sugar
gross domestic product $4.8 billion
gross domestic product growth rate 1.7 per cent
per capita income $2,087
literacy rate 90 per cent

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

GLOBAL INTERDEPENDENCE

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OUTLINE OF THE CONTENTS

TEACHER DIRECTIONS AND SPECIAL RESOURCES

GLOBAL INTERDEPENDENCE (K-6)

I. DIFFERENCES
    A. Concept
    B. Activities

II. ONENESS
    A. Concept
    B. Activities
        - "Mundialization"

III. SYSTEMS
    A. Concept
    B. Activities
        - "Role-Playing and Creative Dramatics - Sample Lesson"

IV. RESPONSIBILITY
    A. Concept
    B. Activities

V. INTERDEPENDENCE WITH THE EARTH

GLOBAL INTERDEPENDENCE (7-12+)

Activities:
    A. "Spaceship Earth Simulation"
    B. Global Connections
    C. "BREAD, JUSTICE AND GLOBAL INTERDEPENDENCE"
    D. Action Possibilities from the Filmstrip

STUDENT READING:

-- "BREAD, JUSTICE AND GLOBAL INTERDEPENDENCE"

TEACHER DIRECTIONS

For elementary teachers

The first half of this unit is for elementary teachers and focuses on interdependence within the classroom as well as in the world, developing the attitudes, values and skills necessary for promoting an interdependent way of living. The elementary section builds on a number of units from Volume I, especially "Multicultural Education", "Peace and Justice in Schools", and "Nonviolent Conflict Resolution". Some of the activities in the section for older students are applicable to middle grade students as well, particularly "Global Connections" and the "Spaceship Earth" simulation.

In terms of the importance of this unit for elementary as well as older students, I quote from Luanne Schinzel who wrote the elementary unit in the 1976 edition:

> "Global interdependence! What does it mean to an elementary grade child? Probably not much. At the most, a verbal definition. A few years ago educators would have stated it a much too complicated, as well as unnecessary, term to teach to elementary grade students. Slowly we are beginning to realize that the impact of interdependence is affecting lives of all people - children as well as adults. And if the concept of such a complex reality of our lives is to be understood, it is essential to have its beginnings in the very earliest years of a child's education. Research findings seem to indicate that children's awareness and attitude formation begin to be well formed at a very early age - even before entering the elementary grades. Therefore, if we have any hopes of the future world being one of peace, we need to implement the skills of interdependence from day one as well as all other days of the child's schooling."

For junior and senior high and college teachers

The second half of this unit is for older students and draws on the material presented in BREAD AND JUSTICE. If you want to devote more than five classes to this topic, I would suggest using BREAD AND JUSTICE and especially the many activities in the TEACHERS BOOK in that program.

The focus of the section for older students is contained in the script from the filmstrip "Bread, Justice, and Global Interdependence". This filmstrip, available from our Institute, is the key activity in the unit. The "Spaceship Earth" simulation is optional, yet I would strongly recommend its use as a way of personally involving students in the concept of "interdependence". As in the unit on "World Hunger", the action possibilities in this unit are crucial. The explicit purpose of this unit is to lead to action, both in terms of structural change and lifestyle change. The "Shakertown Pledge" is especially important for the latter. Finally, Part V in the section for elementary schools (on "Interdependence with the Earth") is equally applicable to older student, and the "Criteria" for evaluating multi-cultural resources (p. 102) are appropriate for teachers at all levels.

SPECIAL RESOURCES

Bibliographies

-- See the unit on "Global Poverty and Development", particularly the THIRD WORLD RESOURCE DIRECTORY and the Bibliography from Global Education ASsociates.

-- The Mid-America Program for Global Perspectives in Education (Indiana University, Bloomington, IN 47401) publishes several such resources: SELECTED SOURCES OF INFORMATION, MATERIALS AND TEACHING IDEAS; A GLOBAL PERSPECTIVES BIBLIOGRAPHY (background readings, items for teachers and curriculum planners, and resources for classroom use; 1978; $1.00); and A SELECTED LIST OF SOURCES OF INFORMATION, MATERIALS, AND SERVICES IN GLOBAL PERSPECTIVES EDUCATION.

-- The Peace Education Network of COPRED (c/o University of Illinois) put together an extensive bibliography for elementary and secondary teachers in early 1981.

For teacher (and older student) background reading (besides BREAD AND JUSTICE)

-- Gerry and Pat Mische, TOWARD A HUMAN WORLD ORDER (Paulist, 1977); a clear analysis of present global realities and suggestions for citizen participation; their "Whole Earth Papers" (from Global Education Associates) update and develop each section of the book.

-- Adam Corson-Finnerty, WORLD CITIZEN: ACTION FOR GLOBAL JUSTICE (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1982) has 100 pages of narrative about such global issues as colonialism, militarism, the environment and the UN, followed by 60 pages describing organizations and books related to themes of global citizenship.

-- The writings of Barbara Ward, including PROGRESS FOR A SMALL PLANET (New York: Norton, 1979), are always informative, inspirational on First World responses to global realities.

-- A number of issues in the HEADLINE SERIES from the Foreign Policy Association are pertinent, especially James Howe, Interdependence and the World Economy (1974; #222) and Lester Brown, The Interdependence of Nations (1972).

Alternative and/or supplementary sources of classroom activities

-- See all the resources from the Center for Teaching International Relations at the University of Denver (in the unit on "Global Poverty and Development") and write them for a complete listing.

-- UNICEF (see the special BIBLIOGRAPHY below) and the United Nations Association, both its national office and local offices, have extensive teacher materials for all levels. Write for a complete listing.

-- Global Perspectives in Education publishes an excellent magazine entitled INTERCOM for teachers at all grade levels. Teaching Toward Global Perspectives (I and II; 1975) are especially valuable. Write for a complete listing of back issues; also for information on Global Perspectives: Education for a World in Change, their 8-page monthly publication for global educators.

-- Camy Condon and James McGinnis, GLOBAL FAMILY PUPPETS (32 pp. $4.00) and PUPPETS FOR PEACE (48 pp. $5.00; both from the Institute for Peace and Justice, 1984) present participatory (students creating/discovering solutions) puppetry skits and chants with directions for teachers and a variety of follow-up activities and action possibilities. Also available for purchase or rental are two one-hour videotapes demonstrating with a live audience each skit and chant and discussion afterwards with teachers on how they can use puppetry as a uniquely engaging approach with children. Elementary and middle grades.

-- Margaret Comstock, BUILDING BLOCKS FOR PEACE, Jane Addams Peace Association, 1213 Race St., Philadelphia, PA 19107. A resource unit for kindergarten teachers. It introduces new concepts of self, of family and of different cultures, through games, things to make and do, role-playing, songs and books and filmstrip. Also an appendix lists sources of books, records, filmstrips. $2.00

-- Grace Abrams and Fran Schmidt, PEACE IS IN OUR HANDS. Jane Addams Peace Association, a resource unit for teachers of grades 1-6. This curriculum is designed to help students understand their feelings, handle their aggression nonviolently, build self-esteem, empathize with others' feelings and understand others' hopes, and build world citizenship. 90 pages. $5.00 each.

-- TEACHING ABOUT INTERDEPENDENCE IN A PEACEFUL WORLD is a UNICEF kit with teacher readings and guide, simulation on interdependence and food consumption, and bibliography; around the themes of interdependence and peace; high school; $1.50.

--SCHOOL IMPROVEMENT THROUGH GLOBAL EDUCATION is an excellent program in global education in high schools, developed by the North Central Association Task Force on School Improvement through Global Education and the Kettering Foundation (5335 Far Hills Avenue, Dayton, OH 45429) and revolving around 4 themes: valuing diversity; understanding the world as an interdependent system; developing effective working relationships with others; and understanding prevailing world conditions, the process of change, and emerging trends. The program contains 3 basic documents: the CONSENSUS AND DIVERSITY booklet outlines a process for total staff orientation; A GUIDE TO FOUR ESSENTIAL THEMES is a curriculum guide (each goal has implications for global education and implications for school improvement); and the IMPLEMENTATION GUIDE.

-- "Columbus in the World; The World in Columbus" is a fascinating community research project in which college (or high school) students discover all the connections between their city and the rest of the world; write the Mershon Center (199 West 10th Avenue, Columbus, OH 43201) for results (a pamphlet series) and how to replicate the project in your city; also contact the Mid-America Program (above) for further suggestions.

For regular updating (see "Hunger" and "Global Poverty and Development")

-- THE INTERDEPENDENT is a monthly 8-page newspaper from the United Nations Association, covering the wide range of issues being considered by various UN agencies.
-- GATT-FLY REPORT, a periodical on global issues of economic interest, from GATT-FLY, 11 Madison Ave., Toronto, Ontario, Canada M5R 2S2 ($15/yr)

UNICEF Materials (UNICEF, 331 East 38th St., New York, NY 10016):

A. Music and Books:

-- "Sing, Children, Sing". Music with original words and translations for 35 songs, dances, singing games from 34 countries. Scored for a variety of instrument. With photographic illustrations. For all ages; $3.50.

-- "Songs for a Peaceful World". This 7-inch record includes "Let There Be Peace on Earth". "I'd Like to Teach the World to Sing" and "Father of the Man". $1.00.

-- "Hi, Neighbor", a series of records with songs and dances from 36 countries around the world, with accompanying books.

B. Slide Sets and Filmstrips

-- "Rights of the Child". Focuses on the Declaration of the Rights of the Child and the efforts of UNICEF to bring about their realization. Teachers guide considers the concept of rights Cassette tape available with two sound tracks for either adult or child audience. Color; slide set with guide; 40 frames; $4.00.

-- "Children of Africa". Illustrates the needs of children and the scope of UNICEF's work in AFrica. Includes teacher's guide and commentary. All ages; color; 20 frames; $2.00.

-- "Children of Latin America". Shows the lives of children in Latin America and the work of the Children's Fund on their behalf. Commentary and teacher's guide included. All ages; color; 30 frames; $3.00.

-- "Children of China", Part I. General information and history transportation, housing, food, China's "Better past", recent development family life, health, and childhood programs of today..

-- "Children of Asia". Set of 30 color slides illustrating the lives of children in Asia in a wide variety of settings - at home, school, at work, and at play, including ways in which UNICEF touches their lives. Commentary and teacher's guide included. All ages; $3.00.

-- "Faces and Places Around the World". Color filmstrip featuring the children of developing countries and their needs of improved health, nutrition and education. Includes teacher's guide and commentary. #5704; $3.00.

-- "China - Set 1: A Cultural Approach" (1980). An in-depth look at the culture of the world's most populous nation. Each of the filmstrips and its activities examine different aspects of Chinese life, for a total of approximately 25 class periods. Five filmstrips: The Land; A Sea of People; Daily Life; Communes; and The True Path - Philosophy, Education and Government. Junior High; $2.00 borrowing fee.

-- "Tell Them We Are People" (1973) The diversity of the Indochinese people, their cultures and their lands - in peace and war - are explored. 19 minutes.

C. Films (Caution: In using UNICEF films, it is important for teachers to point out the richness as well as the poverty of poor people and that the answer to poverty is not always, or ever solely, more "know how" and/or technology from the First World.) -- "A Grain of Sand", 13½ minutes, color,

1965. The single child's reactions and emotions illustrate the need of children all over the world. This is the story of a day in the life of a little boy in Tunisia.

-- "A Nomad Boy", 20 minutes, color, 1971. The hard but happy life of a family in northern Somalia is described through the life of a 12 year old boy. Dependent on and devoted to their camels and wandering in arid rock-strewn plains, the Somali family is visited by the traveling teacher, who has been aided by UNICEF. The mind of the young boy is awakened. Ages 10 and up.

-- "We Are One", 20 minutes, 1971. Charming scenes of children around the world as they eat, play, and learn in many different styles. Some have no chance to grow strong and healthy and learn to become useful citizens. UNICEF tries to give more that chance.

-- "Village on Stilts" #F-15-B. Through the life of a 12 year old boy we learn that new techniques for clean water supply and other aid from UNICEF has made useful changes in a village on a lagoon in Benin, Africa. A beautiful film. (UNICEF 1971, 20-minutes).

D. UNICEF Display Materials (same caution as with films)

-- Color Pictorial Exhibit. Ten color poster photographs (11"x 15") depicting scenes of children in varied situations and illustrating ways in which UNICEF helps. 1974, $1.25.

-- Festival Figures. Sets of eight 14" high cardboard figures in festival attire of their regions. Includes information on clothing of each country. Can be free-standing or attached to bulletin board. Also available: Mediterranean Set, Asian Set, International Set, North American and Hawaiian Set (8 figures each).

E. Other Films

-- MAPANDANGORE. Around an evening fire children respond in song to the story of the great Baboon, Mapandangore. African musical instruments become an integral part, showing how they are made and how they fit in basic families such as reeds, percussion, etc. Andrew Tracy, an expert storyteller tells the children about the Baboon who drives off thieves stealing a little orphan girl's cattle. Cues elicit chant-like responses. (9-3/4 minutes. color). (Filmfare, 10900 Ventura Boulevard, Studio City, CA 91604).

-- WITH GLADIS IN BOLIVIA. The life of a girl on a Bolivian farm. She washes clothes, milks cows, looks after her little sister, takes care of pigs - the sale of which will insure her education. (1980, 11 min., color). (Journal Films, 930 Pitner Avenue, Evanston, IL. 60202).

-- WITH OSCAR IN PERU. Oscar, thirteen, lives at 13,000 feet on the Peruvian "altiplano". Smiling, independent Oscar is an active member of his community. He tends the village sheep, plants eucalyptus seedlings, spins wool and harvests the family's potatoes. The film fosters a better understanding and appreciation of other lifestyles and cultures. (1980, 11 min., color). (Journal Films, 930 Pitner Avenue, Evanston, IL. 60202).

GLOBAL INTERDEPENDENCE (K-6)

In considering the meaning of interdependence for elementary grade children, we must consider ideas and vocabulary that can be related to their own experiences and understanding. The concepts of difference, oneness, systems, and responsibility seem to be essential parts in the children's understanding of interdependence and also parts that can be related to their age, experience, and understanding.

I. DIFFERENCES

A. Concept - It seems that the very essence of global awareness and the beauty of interdependence in our global family is that of differences: differences as they apply in the students' own lives, their families, their school communities, nation, and in the world community. Often educators do a good job bringing out the importance of differences within their own lives but fail to add that dimension of the broader world community and to really help children realize that differences are essential for completing the whole in a peaceful and just way. As one deals with differences, it is important to explore the area in a positive light. An individual's difference is his/her gift to building the total global family.

B. Activities

1. To develop the value of differences in each individual's uniqueness.

-- Begin the school year with an emphasis on self-understanding and building a positive self-concept. Emphasize the worth and dignity of the individual, and respect for every child.

-- Spend time on names of the children - what names mean, possible origin, naming customs, the use of nicknames.

-- In a corner, display a full length mirror so that children can see themselves and identify characteristics. Discuss differences emphasizing the reasons for these differences.

-- Have a talent show in which each child shares their unique talent.

2. To develop the value and worth of differences within their own communities and cultures

-- Meet and become acquainted with people in the school, for example, custodians, cooks, administrators, other teachers. Meet and talk with people who work in the school neighborhood: bus drivers, police officers, fire fighters, public health nurses, mail carriers.

-- Take walking trips around the school to see the relationship of the classroom to the total plant. Take trips into the community. Talk about the relationship of the school to the community.

-- If working with city children, take a trip to the farm. Discuss the differences, especially in work, distances, family involvement. If working with children of a rural area, plan a visit to the city area for the same specific purpose.

-- Invite parents and grandparents to the classroom. Some may be able to share a talent, hobby, or interest with children, such as cooking, sewing, making toys, singing, dancing, playing a musical instrument, telling stories, or painting.

3. To develop the value and worth of differences in the life of different cultures

-- Invite people from other cultures to visit the classroom. The visitor may be able to share facts about their culture, music, etc.

-- Learn simple words and phrases such as "Good morning", "Good-bye", "My name is ...", in other languages to develop a feeling and a respect for various languages. Relate these activities to the experiences of the children - a new child in the group arriving from Kenya, a child leaving for a visit to Peru, a child's grandmother from Brazil visiting the class.

-- Read stories about people everywhere. Read folklore from other countries. Play records with music from other cultures. Encourage children to move freely to the music and to notice the difference in movement in relationship to culture. Learn simple songs in several languages.

-- Camy Condon's puppet skits, chants, and folktales are especially helpful for middle grade students. See GLOBAL FAMILY PUPPETS and TRY ON MY SHOE: Multicultural Participatory Puppetry (from Lynne Jennings, 281 E. Millan St., Chula Vista, CA 92010).

-- Celebrate holidays and other days of importance to various cultures. Perhaps combine this with studying a different culture each month. Use art, music, clothes, and displays for that month's culture.

SOME DAYS TO CELEBRATE

UNICEF's FESTIVAL BOOK (U.S. Committee for UNICEF, 1966) describes a number of festivals celebrated by children in different countries; for young readers. Similarly, Ruth Allan Miner, DAYS TO CELEBRATE (Jane Addams Peace Association, WILPF), presents special days with suggestions for celebrating them; includes some folklore, biography, and background for many unusual holidays. The festivals described in UNICEF's FESTIVAL BOOK are:

NEW YEAR	Ethiopia	September 11
DIVALI(Hindu Festival of Lights)	India	
NOW-RUZ(New Year)	Iran	March 21
HANNUKKAH (Jewish Feast of Lights)	Israel	Mid-December
DOLL FESTIVAL	Japan	Early March
POSADAS	Mexico	December 16-24
SINTERKLAAS (St. Nicholas)	Netherlands	December 5-6
END OF RAMADAN (Moslem Breaking of the Fast)	Pakistan	
EASTER	Poland	Spring
LUCIA DAY (Feast of St. Lucy)	Sweden	December 13
SONGKRAN (Buddhist New Year)	Thailand	April 13-15
HALLOWEEN	U.S., Canada	October 31

-- Show audio-visuals, especially ones that relate to the ways people live, go to school, work and play in different cultures (see sections "C" and "D" in

BIBLIOGRAPHY). Use a wide variety of people from other cultures when making displays, exhibits, scrapbooks, etc. (see sections "B" and "E" in BIBLIOGRAPHY).

-- Arrange for global pen pals. Contact Peace is in our Hands: Student Letter Exchange, Waseca, MN 56993 (12 & up); World Pen Pals, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, MN 55455; Caravan House, 132 E. 65th St., NY, NY. 10021 (6 & up).

-- Consider the following criteria when using materials about different cultures:

(1) In regard to musical recordings or objects: Are they truly representative of the culture or were they produced merely to satisfy the demands of tourists with preconceived notions? Do they have enough relevance to the culture as a whole so that they are worthy of general study, or do they represent only a minute portion of the people? Can they be easily integrated into the structure of the study or will the children come to regard them as individual items of curiosity?

(2) In regard to fictional and folkloric materials: Was the material created by a participant in the culture or by an observer of it? Has it been edited to remove all elements which are morally or socially not accepted in our culture, or have some of these intrinsic values of the society concerned been allowed to remain intact? If it is historical, is this clearly indicated?

(3) In regard to illustrations, photographs, or films: Is there obvious stereo-typing such as always depicting Chinese children with pigtails, African children without clothes, Mexican children as barefoot boys with burros, etc? Are the facial characteristics of any race always the same, without regard for the fact that there are infinite varieties within all races? Is the comparative wealth or poverty of a nation or people illustrated with honesty or is it exaggerated? Is there overemphasis on rural or village life with no proportionate attention to urban life? Are the unusually different customs depicted more for their shock value than as illuminations of parts of the total structure of the culture?

(4) In regard to factual materials: What is the latest copyright date? Does this limit the usability of the work? If copyright date is recent, do geographical and political facts truly reflect the latest changes? Whose point of view is represented the insider or the outsider or both? What kinds of sources are given?

(from Anne Pellowski, "Learning about Present-Day Children in Other Cultures", in Joan M. Moyer, BASES FOR WORLD UNDERSTANDING AND COOPERATION, Association for Supervision and Curriculum, 1201 16th St., NW, Washington, DC 20036; and reprinted with their permission).

II. ONENESS

A. Concept - For differences to have meaning, it seems that they must be considered in the context of the total global family. We need to help students see that we are all one family and that this is not just a well-intentioned idea. If each person is to grow in self-worth in the process of building the whole, it seems that basic skills of mutuality are essential in building the concept of oneness. Students must have the ability to deal with differences whether in creating a classroom oneness or a worldwide oneness. Included within would be an understanding of conflict and cooperative ways of dealing with conflict.

B. Activities

1. To help students realize they are members of a total world family

-- Have a globe available in the classroom at all times. Use every opportunity to use the globe to locate countries as related to the work going on in the classroom.

-- As a quick easy way to introduce the concept of world family, teach the Green Circle Song (to the tune of "Nick, Nack Paddy Whack ... This Old Man?):

Circle Green, Circle Green,
Finest Circle we have seen,
The greatest task that we know,
Is to make the circle grow.

Smallest one circles me,
Then we add the family,
Friends will make it larger still,
Further we must spread good will.

People here, people there,
All God's children everywhere,
Are of one big family,
In the circle they should be.

Circle Green, grow and grow,
So our neighborhoods will show,
We can make a world that's good,
Through LOVE, PEACE, and PEOPLEHOOD.

(For more complete information about the program, write to: The Green Circle Program, 1515 Cherry Street, Philadelphia, PA 19102).

-- Allow global thinking to pervade your entire curriculum. Devise projects in various fields which will contribute to developing children's sense of global oneness.

-- Consult with the World Federalists as a class; consider the possibility of "mundialization", declaring themselves "world citizens".

"Mundialization"

This is the process by which a school, for instance, declares itself a world school, flies the UN flag along with the U.S. flag, pairs with a counterpart school in another part of the world, and then lives out its expanded identity. Living out its global identity can mean many things, from celebrating special UN days, special days in the lives of the students in their counterpart school; exchanges of information, resources, and perhaps even teachers and students; special global awareness programs on a continuing basis in the school The process of "mundialization" is as important as the decision to "mundialize". It requires considerable education of the student body before a meaningful vote can be taken. Further, it is a symbolic act, and as any symbolic act, its value lies chiefly in the substance underlying the symbol. Thus, living out the new global identity of the school is vital. The World Federalists of Canada have put together a Guide on "mundialization" (write 46 Elgin Street, Ottawa, Canada). The World Federalists USA, with chapters in most urban areas, would also have information on "mundialization" and related issues.

2. To help students learn skills for peaceful living in an interdependent way

-- In fulfilling this goal, it is important to help students see that conflict is neither good nor bad and is an essential element to creating oneness. So that conflist doesn't turn to violence and avoidance, students must learn those skills needed to analyze conflict and then to be able to explore the possibliities of non-violent conflict resolution. (see unit on "Nonviolent Conflict Resolution" in Volume I)

-- Role-playing can be used effectively to set up conflict situations in which small children often find themselves. This technique helps children to deal with their conflicts as well as to recognize their feelings during the conflicts. It also helps the children to see how conflict situations arise and will afford an opportunity to show non-violent ways of resolving the conflict. The puppet skits in PUPPETS FOR PEACE offer an especially engaging way for students to discover these non-violent alternatives.

-- In order to try to understand the causes of aggression, fairy tales can be used very effectively. First, explain to the children the meaning of a fairy tale. Then read it aloud. Have the children raise their hands whenever they recognize a harmful action in the story. Ask such questions as : Why is this a violent action? Whom does it harm? Why did it occur? What is another way the person/animal can act without harming anyone? Tell the class if the story scared you. Do you like to be scared? When finished with the story, have the children make up a new ending that does not involve harmful actions.

III. SYSTEMS

A. Concept - For oneness to have body, it seems that the concept of systems is essential in studying interdependence. Our goals here are, first, to help students research and understand already existing systems - both national and international; secondly, to help them explore how these systems affect their immediate life and the lives of many others; and thirdly, to encourage future dreaming and planning for the earth as a single system and what that would mean in our lifestyles.

B. Activities

1. To help students understand systems and how they affect our lives

-- Play the game "Machines". Divide the class into several sets or teams of players (5-8 per team). Ask the teams to think of an object or machine that has moving parts and then to try to act out that machine in pantomime. Each member of the team must have a role to play and the members should be connected (touching) in some way. After students have had a chance to decide and practice briefly, ask each team to perform their pantomime for the whole group, with other teams trying to guess what their "machine" is. After all teams have had a chance to perform, discuss the activity asking students to consider the following:

-- What was the role of each "part" or "person" in the machine?
-- How did part work together to form the whole system? How did they "depend" on each other? ("interdependence")
-- What would have happened if one "part" had been missing?
-- Could any one part of their machine have done the whole job of the machine alone? ("independence")

Introduce the words "dependent", "independent" and "interdependent" and see if students understand them better after doing this activity.

-- Have students identify the major sub-systems of the human body, and learn how they depend on each other. Discuss how the whole human systems depends on the interaction of these sub-systems.

-- Ask students to consider in what ways their families or communities form a system. Have them identify sub-systems within these systems, and examine how they depend on each other for everyday functioning.

-- For additional basic ideas on systems, see the three sample, lessons, "When I Want a Drink of Water, I______________", "How Many Systems at a Street Corner", and "A Simple Chocolate Bar", outlines in INTERCOM #73 ("Teaching Toward Global Perspectives," from the Center for Global Perspectives in Education, Inc., Box GPIEN, 218 East 18th St., New York, NY 10003).

2. To consider the earth as single system:

-- Think of the biggest system you can the world. Ask students what are some of the sub-systems (water, air, land, food, people, etc.) Have them identify some of the ways in which these sub-systems work together, and some of the problems that are affecting them.

-- Consider together what would happen if any one of these systems was destroyed (by pollution, drought, etc.)

-- Ask students what would happen to the other sub-systems and to the entire system as a result.

-- Review the meanings of the three words: dependent,independent, and interdependent.

-- List ways in which we all need to work at being interdependent in order to keep the world system working well.

-- Do the "Spaceship Earth" simulation, below, pp. 108, with middle grade students. This activity uses the imagination of the child to build a sense of "lets pretend" urgancy and in the last lines turns the situation into a real world problem with a sense of oneness with all the other passengers.

-- A more simplified activity is to pretend that the students are a party of shipwrecked passengers on a deserted island. Ask the children to work out the situation. Help them see the many ways that they must depend upon one another.

-- Have students explore how their lives and their community are related to the global community, through the "My Global Day" activities below, p. 110.

-- Discuss the importance of already existing transnational organizations such as the Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, and the Red Cross.

IV. RESPONSIBILITY

A. Concept - A very important challenge all of us have is to assume responsibility for our own actions. Equally important is that responsibility of realizing the results of our actions in relationship to the whole human family. Overwhelming as it may be for even adults - much less to children - one cannot be given the freedom of putting the responsibility aside. As the world becomes more and more a "global city", so the increasing responsibility of the interdependent effects of our actions.

B. Activities

1. To realize the effect of our actions and our responsibility for these actions

-- Have children brainstorm a long list of actions. One by one have them name as many ways as possible that the action affected someone either in a positive or negative way.

-- Give examples of people not carrying out their responsibilities and what effect they have on others.

-- If children are to be able to take charge of their lives, they need to be taught skills that will help them to know how to make decisions according to their values, how to evaluate those decisions, and how to generate other options. (See unit on "Peace and Justice in Schools", Volume I).

2. To realize the results and responsibility of our actions in relationship to the global family

-- After children have discussed the World Pledge, help them to brainstorm and determine concrete ways of daily living the pledge. Younger children can color and display their pledges as well as their concrete actions.

"I PLEDGE ALLEGIANCE TO THE WORLD
TO CHERISH EVERY LIVING THING,
TO CARE FOR EARTH AND SEA AND AIR,
WITH PEACE AND FREEDOM EVERYWHERE!"

-- Have students read "Living on Less Than $200 a Year" (pp. 59 above). Discussion afterwards should emphasize our over-consumption patterns and concrete ways the students feel that they can face their global responsibility.

-- Share "The Banana Connection" activity, p. 110 below, with the students and ask if they think that is a good idea. Try to identify some way that activity (in the cafeteria, for instance) or a similar activity can be done at school.

-- The children's projects in the case study on Nicaragua, pp. 175-177, offer specific possibilities for taking responsibiliity and promoting interdependence.

V. INTERDEPENDENCE WITH THE EARTH

A. Concept - An important dimension of living interdependently, for people of all ages, is interdependence with the earth. Our responsibility/commitment to life, to future generations, and to the people around us is reflected in and determined by our responsibility and reverence for the earth. As Chief Seattle said (quoted in the filmstrip, "Bread, Justice, and Global Interdependence"): "ALL THINGS ARE CONNECTED. WHATEVER BEFALLS THE EARTH, OUR MOTHER, BEFALLS THE SONS AND DAUGHTERS OF THE EARTH".

B. Activities

-- Students of all ages need to be encouraged to spend time with nature - hiking, camping, listening, etc. They should further be encouraged to express this growing relationship with nature through poetry or prose, painting, music, drama, or wharever other medium they enjoy. Expressing the relationship deepens the relationship.

-- All the ways in which we can care for the earth - recycling, gardening, etc. - should be encouraged. Perhaps the school could organize such efforts.

-- Reading and reflecting on the Native American sense of interdependence with the earth can deepen the students' own sense of interdependence and promote greater appreciation for this little appreciated segment of our society. Read (or adapt) to the students the letter of Chief Seattle (see Chapter 17 in BREAD AND JUSTICE). Read and share the illustrations in Susanne Anderson's beautiful volume, SONG OF THE EARTH (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1973) and/or in TOUCH THE EARTH: A SELF-PORTRAIT OF INDIAN EXISTENCE (New York: Promontory Press, 1971). You might have students illustrate these insights with slides or photographs of their own.

GLOBAL INTERDEPENDENCE (7-12+)

GOALS

To see the world as an interdependent system in which what happens in one part of the world affects people all over the world; thus, to see the fallacy of the "life-boat ethic".

To recognize the need for "horizontal" rather than "vertical" interdependence, i.e., the need for a redistribution of power as well as goods so that different groups relate as equals; and to find ways of promoting horizontally interdependent structures and attitudes.

To begin to see what it means to live as "interdependent beings", i.e., to live in tune with the finiteness of the world's resources and with needs of all the members of the human family.

ACTIVITIES

A. "Spaceship Earth Simulation" (from BREAD AND JUSTICE, TEACHER'S BOOK, pp. 222-224).

1. Purpose and background. To enable students to experience the vertical interdependence of the world: both the inequalities and the interdependencies of the present situation. This simulation is adapted from a much longer version developed by the Center for Global Perspectives (218 East 18th St., New York, NY 10003). It appeared in INTERCOM magazine, #71. This adaptation focuses specifically on food. The value of this simulation is its capacity for quickly and clearly demonstrating the interdependence of the First, Second, and Third Worlds, without distorting the reality of the situation today.

2. Time and Numbers. One 50-minute class period is enough for playing the simulation and reflecting on what happened and how people felt. A second class period would be good for discussing what insights about the world situation were gained from the game. It requires a minimum of ten participants. Large numbers can be accommodated by making each group of ten a separate "Spaceship Earth".

3. Procedure. Step 1 - Have participants divide into groups of ten and count off so that each person has a different number between 1 and 10. Assign the roles as follows:

1 - first class passenger, the pilot, well fed
2 - first class passenger, a consumer, well fed
3 - second class passenger, the doctor, well fed
4 - second class passenger, a consumer, well fed
5 - third class passenger, the ship's technician who controls the fuel supply, well fed
6 - third class passenger, bio-chemist/food expert, well fed
7 - third class passenger, small farmer, undernourished
8 - third class passenger, farm laborer, malnourished
9 - third class passenger, underemployed city dweller, malnourished
10 - third class passenger, unemployed city dweller, starving

Step 2 - Have participants read over the "Spaceship Earth" situation, below, carefully and then inform them that their task for the next 20 minutes is to DEAL WITH THE SPACESHIP'S FOOD PROBLEM AS BEST YOU CAN. The best setting might be around a large table, although desks in a circle work fine.

Step 3 - (optional) During the play, you might want to add one other item by announcing that access to the destruct mechanism has spread from passengers #1 and #3 to passengers #5 (Mideast) and #9 (India). Generally, this alters the course of action and may distort the reality of the situation - that the growing power of the Third World is more economic than military. But it does raise the "peace and stability" reason for the well-fed to respond adequately to the needs of the hungry.

Step 4 - (reflection) Things to Look For. Were the solutions that emerged more "life-boat ethics" in orientation or more cooperative? Did an alliance between #5 (oil producing nations) and the other Third World (class) passengers form or did #5 go with the well fed? Did spreading access to the "destruct mechanism" make any difference? How did the participants feel about how they became who they were - the accident of birth simulated by counting off numbers at the beginning? What parallels with the world today did the participants identify? making passenger #6 a bio-chemist/food expert was designed to dispel the myth that Third World people are all hungry and illiterate and that technical help has to come from the First or Second Worlds. Did anyone pick up on this?

Step 5. - (optional) Replaying the simulation with an explicitly cooperative goal, such as: DEAL WITH THE SPACESHIP'S FOOD PROBLEM AS BEST YOU CAN, SO THAT EVERYONE IS ABLE TO FEED THEMSELVES ADEQUATELY, has the important dimension of not leaving students feeling bad about how hopeless things are, but of challenging them to create an alternative.

4. "Spaceship Earth" Situation "Just for a moment imagine that you are a first class passenger on a huge spaceship with thousands of passengers travelling through space at a speed of 66,000 mph. You discover that the craft's environment system is faulty. Passengers in some sections are actually dying due to the emission of poisonous gases into their oxygen supply. Furthermore, you learn that there is a serious shortage of provisions - food supplies are rapidly diminishing and the water supply, thought previously to be more than adequate, is rapidly becoming polluted due to fouling from breakdowns in the craft's waste and propulsion systems.

"To complicate matters even more, in the economy sections where passengers are crowded together under the most difficult of situations, it is reported that many are seriously ill. The ship's medical officers are able to help only a fraction of the sick and medicines are in short supply.

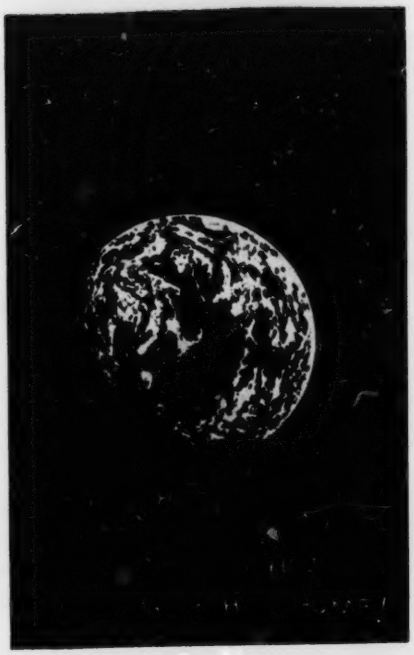
"Mutinies have been reported, and although some of the crew and passengers are engaged in serious conflict in one of the compattments, it is hoped that this conflict is being contained successfully; however, there is widespread fear as to what may happen if it cannot be contained or resolved within that compartment.

"The spacecraft has been designed with an overall destruct system, the controls of which have been carefully guarded. Unfortunately the number of technologists who have gained access to the destruct system has increased, and all of the crew and passengers have become uneasy due to evidences of mental instability in some of those gaining such access.

"We could go on, but the point is: what would you do put in such a position? Now that you have "imagined" this situation, you are ready to face reality. You are on such a spaceship right now - "Spaceship Earth". (Reprinted from INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION FOR SPACESHIP EARTH, by David C. King, New Dimensions Series #4, 1970, page 73. Foreign Policy Association has the copyright).

NO FRAMES, NO BOUNDARIES

is a 21-minute film from Creative Initiatives (222 High St., Palo Alto, CA 94301) that can serve as a beautiful supplement to this simulation. It draws its theme from the perspective of astronaut Russell Schweickart as he stepped into space during the Apollo 9 flight. The film explores the artificial "boundaries" that exist between nations and the current spending of $500 billion each year for weapons to defend them. Also shown is the global groundswell of grassroots and community action by people working for a world beyond war. It is especially good as an introductory spiritual reflection (humanistic, multi-religious) on the reality of global interdependence and the global family.



Boris Pogachevski

B. Global Connections

1. "My Global Day"

-- A less involving but more directly factual way of helping students realize how interdependent they are with the rest of the world is to have them (individually or in groups) make a list of all the items they use in the course of their day that come (in whole or in part) from other parts of the world. A good resource for foods is the free publication of the US Department of Agricultural entitled FOREIGN AGRICULTURAL TRADE STATISTICAL REPORT, shich lists all commodities improted by the US and where they come from. Briefly comparing lists can expand this awareness.

-- A similar activity would have students (preferably in small groups) brainstorm a list of all the connections they have with people around the world, in terms of their school (foreign students, etc.), their church/synagogue, businesses in their community, their relatives, etc. Again, these lists can be compared to expand the connections.

2. "The Banana Connection"

Much of the food we eat comes from other parts of the world, often involving elements of exploitation before it gets to our tables. Bananas, for instance, come from Central American countries and the Philippines where those who pick the bananas are grossly underpaid. In the Philippines, these workers generally receive about $1.50 a day. In many cases, these workers, like Mang Gener (see unit on "Global Poverty and Development", above, p.) were formerly self-sufficient rice farmers who lost their land to the banana corporations like Del Monte. Instead of eating the rice they once grew for themselves, these farmers have to buy it. How far will their $1.50/day go in feeding their family? We can connect ourselves with these workers, become more conscious of the benefits we enjoy at their expense, and respond to their exploitation through a series of steps:

-- Whenever we buy bananas, we can charge ourselves an extra amount, say 20%, to represent the additional amount we would pay when the corporations involved would pass along the increased labor costs were the banana pickers paid a just wage. Some families do this by charging themselves a penny each time a family member eats a banana, so that the connection is made more often and by each family member (not just the shopper).

-- Place the money set aside in a container decorated, for instance, with a map of the Philippines, a banana label or sticker, and the picture of an agricultural worker.

-- Send the collection periodically to a group working with those who are being exploited in the process. Possibilities for Philippine banana workers include Jubilee Crafts (see action #2 below) and the various groups listed in the case study on the Philippines in the next unit. Designate the money for the Philippines and ask the group to get it as close to the workers as possible -- those from whom the money was withheld, as it were, in the first place.

This is not to suggest that we are responsible for their exploitation. But it does suggest that we examine the benefits we enjoy at the expense of others and, when possible, that we renounce these benefits and share them with those who are being denied their rights. This process can be extended to other food items like coffee (see the stories of Central American coffee workers in the case studies on El Salvador, pp. 83 above, and Nicaragua, pp. 158 below). The goal here is not how many different things we can do, but to find a way of regularly making ourselves more conscious of our global connections and making these connections more personal and just.

C. "BREAD, JUSTICE, AND GLOBAL INTERDEPENDENCE"

1. Show this filmstrip (from the Institute for Peace and Justice) and/or duplicate and have students read the text of the filmstrip (p.115) and discuss each of the questions listed at the end of the text.

2. Then, as a prelude to focusing on the action possibilities in the filmstrip, have the students do an essay or other form of expression on either question #5 ("all things are connected") or a similar theme like "The Meaning of Interdependence or Solidarity in My Life". Questions #2 - #4 on "life-boat ethics" offer a related focus for this essay. Or, you might save this essay until after considering the action possibilities and have students make this added dimension the last part of their project, so that "solidarity" includes action and not just a deeper appreciation of how much "all things are connected".

D. Action Possibilities from the Filmstrip

1. Brainstorm possibilities

Preferably as a whole, but perhaps in smaller groups, have students brainstorm action possibilities with regard to:

-- relating more "horizontally" with the earth
-- changing one or more of the vertical structures in their society
-- fostering a cooperative spirit in their local community
-- building links with some people in another part of the world

2. Third World gifts

-- Another action possibility you might want to present to the class before asking them to make some decisions about what they want to do to promote horizontal interdependence is to buy the handicrafts of Third World people at gift-giving times and possibly to organize an alternative gift-giving bazaar for the school (or church) at Hannukah/Christmas. The ALTERNATE CELEBRATIONS CATALOG (from Alternatives, Box 429, Ellenwood, GA 30049), itself an ideal gift, contains the names, addresses, and descriptions of a variety of outlets for Third World handicrafts.

-- Jubilee Crafts (Box 12236, Philadelphia, PA 19144) makes available the handicrafts of widows in Bangladesh and of other craft cooperatives in Haiti, the Philippines, Central America and elsewhere. See the story of Santiago Alonzo, a Filipino artisan working Jubilee Crafts, in the case study on the Philippines, pp.143-7. "Jubilee Partners" is the name given to people/groups who organize alternative bazaars or shops at which these handicrafts are sold. Perhaps you class/school could become a "Jubilee Partner".

3. The "Shakertown Pledge"

Some time (perhaps in smaller groups first) should be provided for examining the various elements of the Shakertown Pledge (the last part of the filmstrip). Brainstorming various ways of implementing some or all of the nine pledge items would precede discussion of specific possibilities and possible decisions. Chapter 17 in BREAD AND JUSTICE offers some specific possibilities for each item.

4. "Pairing" with a Third World group

"Pairing" provides concreteness to the general term "Third World". It puts students in touch with people working for social change and probably paying a price for their commitment, which should help inspire the students. It offers an outlet for Third World concerns to enter our communities and offers the possibility of a long-term action/relationship. Specific possibiilities include:

-- SOLIDARITY WITH THE PEOPLE OF NICARAGUA is the title of a 1984 Orbis Book and pairing project coordinated by the Institute for Peace and Justice, offering North American youth groups and others several pairing possibilities. For elementary school groups, there are a variety of children's projects to link with. For high school and college groups, there are three Nicaraguan youth below and contact the Institute for further details.

-- For Philippine pairing possibilities, see the channels suggested in the case study on the Philippines, p. 147 below.

-- Some Russian pairing possibilities also exist. See the unit on "US-USSR Relations", p. 214 below.

-- "Adopt an El Salvadoran Literacy Collective" - the following description is from a 1983 letter from CAPA (Comite de Apoyo Pro-Alfabetizacion (the Literacy Support Committee): which was formed in 1982 by group of people of various nationalities living in Nicaragua. This committee works as part of an international team to support and inform people about the literacy campaign for Salvadoran refugees which is organized and promoted by ANDES 21 DE JUNIO--the National Association of Salvadoran Educators:

"The Campaign is a project for literacy for liberation for the Salvadoran people, both in the liberated zones in El Salvador and for refugees in Nicaragua, Honduras, Costa Rica and Mexico.The initial goal for 1983 was to teach reading and writing to 10,000 Salvadoran refugees and eventually to put an end to the illiteracy and semi-illiteracy which affect 65% of the population. Currently, close to 4,000 people of all ages are organized in the literacy process. ANDES, the only union representing the teaching profession in El Salvador, has made the historic commitment to the Salvadoran people so they can read about their reality in order to write their own history. ANDES is willing to bring education to the people wherever they may be and at any risk. However, the conditions of war and repressions suffered by ANDES and the Salvadoran people make inaccessible the meterials and funds necessary to develop the campaign.

1. SPECIFIC NEEDS: In order to fully develop the campaign there are many material needs that cannot be met under existing conditions in Central America. There are some supplies which cannot be obtained and others for which there are insufficient funds. Therefore, your donation in materials and/or cash is of extreme importance. Notebooks and paper are especially needed.

2. "ADOPT A LITERACY COLLECTIVE" - A Literacy Collective is the reciprocal learning relationship developed between the literacy worker, a non-professional teacher -- "alfabetizador" and the learner or "alfabetizandos." Adults and children both participate in the campaign. Often recent literacy "graduates" become teachers for new collectives. In order to further the process of the collective, ANDES provides training workshops and materials based on the reality of the refugees' lives. A monthly pledge of $50.00 raised by your group or organization will support a collective of five literacy students and the continuing training of their literacy teacher. This money will provide:

-- literacy primers
-- notebooks and pencils
-- chalk and erasers
-- blackboards
-- training workshops
-- transportation/food for workshops

The Literacy Collective that you adopt will write to you about their progress as their abilities expand. ANDES will keep you informed of general events by sending you their bilingual newspaper published monthly.

It is also important to inform the people of your community and region of the repression of the Salvadoran teaching profession and of the people of El Salvador. Write to your local and national politicians urging them to vote against all military aid to El Salvador and to protest all U.S. military maneuvers and intervention in Central America. As part of the generalized genocide against the people, the teachers have suffered:

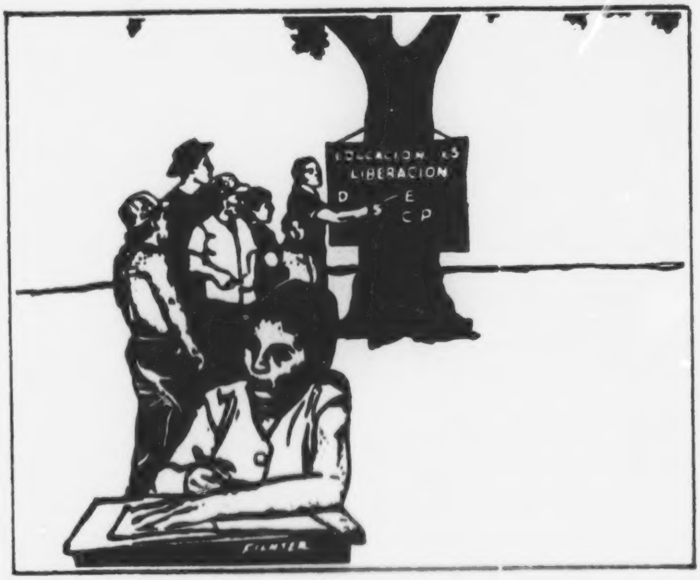
-- 305 teachers murdered
-- 19 teachers held in clandestine prisons of the regime
-- 28 teachers held in public prisons
-- 4.500 teachers forced to become refugees within the country
-- 4,000 teachers refugees in Central America and Mexico

In additional, 1,050 schools have been closed down as of October,1981, and other are occupied by the military".

For further information, or if you can help, please get in touch with C.A.P.A. by writing to Aptao, #48, Esteli Nicaragua. In the U.S., write or call the Boston work Team: Educators in support of ANDES, 1151 Massachusetts Ave., Cambridge, MA 02138, 617-661-8586. They have a slide/tape show entitled EDUCATION FOR FREEDOM which describes the project and is available for rental or purchase.

See the case study on El Salvador, above, for background and stories of the refugees; see also the description of the Nicaragua literacy campaign in the case study on Nicaragua, p. 167 to get a sense of the personal as well as educational dimensions of such a project.

Education for Freedom:



5. Political action possibilities

You may want to reserve this dimension of social action for the following unit on US foreign policy where specific political action options are presented with the case studies on the Philippines and Nicaragua. If so, it would be important here at least to acknowledge the need to address government policies that affect the lives of those with whom we are globally conencted.

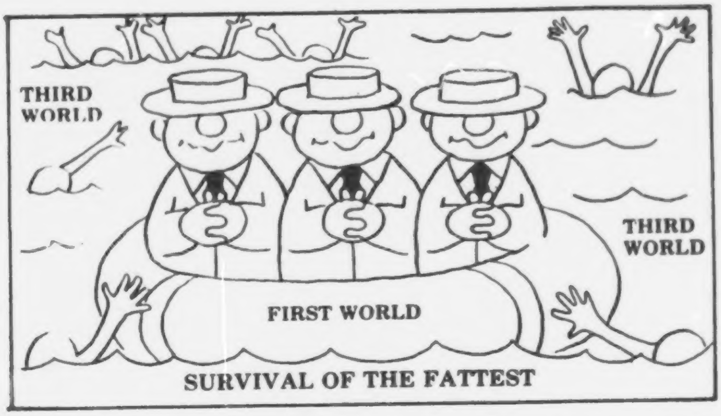
6. Decisions

If the class decides that it does not want to do some kind of action as a whole group, then you might ask them to divide into three smaller groups, one group for each of the action possibilities areas identified in Step 1. Students should go to that group which most interests them. Each group can serve as a sounding board for its individual members - sharing what they are individually considering as a possible action and getting feedback from the other members of the group. The members of the group might decide they want to do a group action, but that should not be the explicit focus, at least at first. After the groups have completed their tasks, an opportunity for sharing with the whole class should be provide - not only for reporting decisions but for encouraging one another.

"BREAD, JUSTICE, AND GLOBAL INTERDEPENDENCE"

The world is an interdependent system. Technical advances in communications and in other areas have brought people closer together than ever before. The world is shrinking. Many people are beginning to see the world more as a global village or a global city. Thinking of the world as a "global city" helps us to appreciate how events in one part of the world affect people all over the world. For instance, industrial pollution threatens all of us. Just as polluting one part of the rivers of the Global City ruins beaches all along those rivers, so too polluting the oceans of the world has world-wide repercussions. Similarly, the fall-out from nuclear testing and the contamination from unsafe nuclear waste facilities do not stop at national borders.

We are coming to see ourselves as more and more interdependent - locked together, as it were, in a world of limited resources. Faced with these facts of interdependence and limited resources, some people are scrambling for the life-boats. Life-boat ethics, as it has been called, says that since there isn't enough for everyone, better that we who have get into the life-boat rather than all those who have not. If we share what we have with all those poor countries who refuse to control the growth of their populations, that is, if we let them all get into the life-boat with us, then we'll drown. It is true hat the life-boat cannot hold all of us if a few of us weigh 400 pounds or more. This is "survival of the fattest".



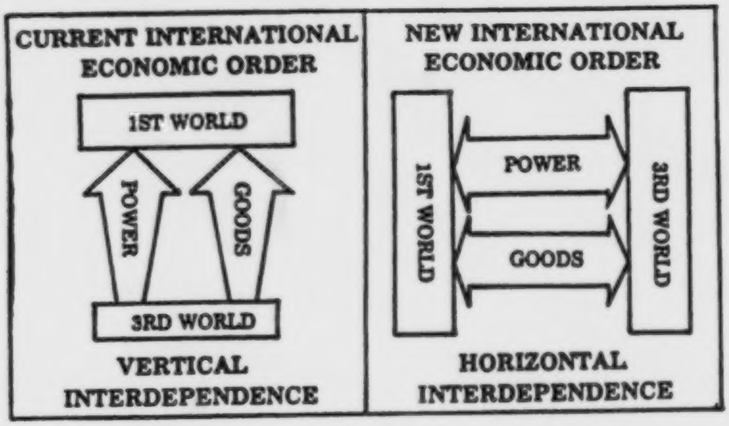
SURVIVAL OF THE FATTEST

As Gandhi once said, "there is enough in the world for everyone's need, but not for everone's greed". The distribution of the world's limited resources must be made less unequal. Land and the other means of producing food must be redistributed from the few to the many so that people can grow their own food.

To many people, interdependence is fine as long as it means shipping a little food overseas -- in other words, a redistribution of goods. But to redistribute land and to redistribute power is another proposition altogether. Many people, especially those in positions of power, tend to see interdependence in vertical terms. Interdependence is fine as long as they remain on top.

A plantation is an interdependent system. Masters and slaves have come to need each other. But a plantation is far from what it means to live as a human family, as brother and sister.

Most interdependent systems and situations in the world today remain vertical. In South Africa, for instance, whites have come to see the indispensability of black workers. But what kind of interdependence is it when 87% of the population of South Africa has no control over its own destiny? Or when husbands and fathers work and live hundreds of miles from their families for eleven months out of the year? It is the interdependence of the plantation. In earlier essays on trade and multinational corporations, we saw how the present international economic order is under the conrol of a relatively few powerful and wealthy nations and corporations. This means vertical interdependence.


CURRENT INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER
1ST WORLD
POWER
GOODS
3RD WORLD
VERTICAL INTERDEPENDENCE
NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER
1ST WORLD
POWER
GOODS
3RD WORLD
HORIZONTAL INTERDEPENDENCE

On the other hand, a horizontal interdependence - one based on the sovereign equality of nations and peoples - demands a New International Economic Order and a new internal economic order, to ensure that all people have both the material goods necessary for a decent life and enough power to participate in the decisions that affect their lives and destinies.

How can we promote this needed redistribution of goods and redistribution of power? How can we turn a vertically interdependent world on its side and promote a horizontally interdependent Global City? The United Nations promotes global cooperation through global conferences on food, disarmament, the Law of the Seas and population. These conferences have resulted in the formation of global councils such as the World Food Council to regulate each of these global issues. Such efforts need voter support, especially in the U.S.

Parallel to these UN efforts to promote cooperation between governments, we can promote cooperation between people. Cities have paired with sister cities in other neighborhoods of the Global City as a symbolic expression of interdependence. Church groups have paired with church groups in the Third World. So have schools and even individual classes. When this is done, both groups learn from each other; both groups contribute support to each other; and both groups challenge each other to work harder for peace and justice.

Horizontally interdependent structures and cooperative ways of living need to be built into our own backyard too. A neighborhood, school or church vegetable garden is one step. Neighborhood food coops are another way for people to take greater control over their own lives and work together.

This same cooperative spirit urgently needs to be extended to nature. Chief Luther Standing Bear of the Oglala Sioux Nation pointed out a century ago that lack of respect for growing, living things soon leads to lack of respect for humans, too. Instead of relating to the earth in vertical fashion, as something to be bought, plundered and sold like sheep or bright beads, we need to look upon the earth horizontally, as our mother, and upon rivers as our brothers. As Chief Seattle stated in 1854, "All things are connnected. Whatever befalls the earth, our mother, befalls the sons and daughters of the earth." Recycling bottles, cans and paper is certainly a first step in caring for the earth. On a larger scale, we need to work for legislation that protects our vanishing wilderness and legislation that requires the restoration of lands that have been strip-mined. As a nation, we need to put our time, talent and tax dollars toward the development of safe sources of energy, especially solar energy.

Vertical structures are all around us. Sometimes we find them in our schools, in our churches and even in our families. Turning vertical structures on their side is threatening to those on top. What can we do? In BREAD, JUSTICE AND TRADE, we saw how some Third World neighborhoods have stressed food self-reliance. They want to end their dependence on other people and nations for their basic needs. Bread for the World is a citizens' lobbying group in the U.S. that encourages U.S. legislation that supports such a food self-reliance strategy. Joining the more than 40,000 members of Bread for the World, reading their monthly newsletter and participating in their political letter-writing campaigns are important actions that all of us can take.

Returning to the example of South Africa, apartheid may be the most blatant global example of vertical interdependence. Churches, religious communities, unions, collges and thousands of individuals have joined in a nation-wide campaign of withdrawing their funds from the many banks that continue to loan money to support the apartheid government. Stockholders in multinational corporations with branches in South Africa have been urging their corporations to make no new investments there and even to withdraw from South Africa altogether. All of us can boycott the products of these multinationals and write to tell them about our displeasure at their continuing support of the apartheid government.

But promoting horizontal interdependence involves more than just a series of actions. It is a way of life. Several years ago a group of people came together to reflect on this way of life. They put together what has been called the "Shakertown Pledge" as their expression what it means to live interdependently as citizens of the Global City:

1. I declare myself to be a world citizen.
2. I commit myself to lead an ecologically sound life.
3. I commit myself to lead a life of creative simplicity and to share my personal wealth with the world's poor.
4. I commit myself to join with others in reshaping institutions in order to bring about a more just global society in which each person has full access to the needed resources for physical, emotional, intellectual and spiritual growth.
5. I commit myself to occupational accountability, and in so doing to seek to avoid the creation of products which cause harm to others.

6. I affirm the gift of my body, and commit myself to its proper nourishment and physical well-being.

7. I commit myself to examine continually my relations with others, and to attempt to relate honestly, morally and livingly to those around me.

8. I commit myself to personal renewal through prayer, meditation and study.

9. I commit myself to responsible participation in a community of faith.

Discussion Questions

1. Besides pollution and nuclear testing, what other problems affect people all over the world, have "worldwide repercussions?"

2. What is the meaning "life-boat ethics", and why do many people consider it fundamentally immoral? Do you agree? Why or why not?

3. To what extent do you think the "survival of the fattest" visual is an accurate portrayal of the current world situation? And why?

4. Where would you place yourself in relation to this life-boat (in the middle, hanging on the side, in the water, etc.) and how much would you estimate that you would "weigh" in this analogy? Do you think you should "lose some weight"? If so, how would start?

5. What did Chief Seattle mean by saying "all things are connected"? Give some contrmporary examples to illustrate what he meant. In what ways is your life "connected" with "all things"?

6. What is the difference between "vertical interdependence" and "horizontal interdependence", and what are the major problems with vertical interdependence?

7. What are some of the "vertical" structures or situations that you experience in your own life?

8. What "vertical" structures in society do you think need changing the most and why?

US
FOREIGN
POLICY

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OUTLINE OF THE CONTENTS

TEACHER DIRECTIONS AND SPECIAL RESOURCES

I. THE FOREIGN POLICY PROCESS IN THE US

- A. Introductory Activities
- B. Foreign Policy: Process and Complexities
- C. Control over US Foreign Policy
- D. Citizen Involvement

II. US FOREIGN POLICY PRIORITIES

- A. Historical Overview
- B. Analysis of Present US Foreign Policy Priorities
- C. The Place of Human Rights in US Foreign Policy Priorities
    1. Importance of Human Rights in general
    2. Examine the "mainstream" perspectives
    3. Country case studies
    4. Human rights and younger students

STUDENT READINGS:

-- "The Present Crisis" (II-B)
-- "US Interests and Ideals" - The "Democratic Perspective" (II-B)
-- "Peace Through Strength" - The "Republican Perspective" (II-B)
-- "Progressive Internationalism" - An Alternative Perspective (II-B)
-- "Blueprint for Peace in Central America"
-- "UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights" (II-C)

THE PHILIPPINES - A CASE STUDY:

- A. The Present Situation
- B. US Government Policy Options
- C. Personal Action Options for North Americans
- D. Resources for Further Study and/or Actions

STUDENT READINGS:

-- "The Story of Santiago Alonzo"
-- Congressman Tony Hall's Speech in Congress, May 9, 1984
-- "The Reagan Administration Positions: Support for US Aid and the Bases"
-- "Stop US Military Aid to Marcos" by David Reed & Odette Taverna

NICARAGUA - A CASE STUDY (See outline before that study)

TEACHERS DIRECTIONS

The emphasis in this unit is threefold. First, there are introductory activities to acquaint students with the foreign policy process in the US. Secondly, there are competing perspectives on what the priorities of US foreign policy should be, especially on the role of human rights. Thirdly, there are the case studies that not only allow the issues to be considered more concretely but also invite the students to action. The Philippine and Nicaragua case studies are both good examples for whole class consideration, with the Nicaragua one providing a broader focus as it includes the economic dimensions of the three previous units as well as the human rights focus of this unit. The case study on General Foods and El Salvador (see the unit on "Global Poverty and Development") is also a possibility here, particularly if you want to include the dimension of multinational corporations in US foreign policy.

Thus, this unit is geared particularly to older students, with college students probably benefitting the most. However, most is applicable to high school students and one section on human rights activities/resources is specifically geared to elementary students. That section plus parts of the Nicaraguan case study would make a good study for younger students, including junior high, if you have a very limited amount of time.

The urgency of this unit/study is expressed in the reading entitled "The Present Crisis", excerpts from Jerry W. Sanders' "Security and Choice" essay that forms one of the three perspectives considered in this unit. You might have students consider that reading and discussion questions at the very beginning of this study. Thus, even though the three perspectives might be difficult reading for some high school students, we would hope that you would help them work through these readings and issues, since the "stakes are so high" and an informed electorate on foreign policy issues so important at this moment in history.

This unit relates closely with the one on "US-USSR Relations" since that is so much a part of US foreign policy. Thus, you may want to consider them together, with the unit on "US-USSR Relations" like another case study application of the more general considerations in this unit. The military aspects of US foreign policy relate this unit to the one on "War and Alternatives" as well, especially the section on deterrence and the "peace through strength" approach to peace.

As a final note, even with the multiple perspectives approach to this unit, much of it raises critical questions about US foreign policy and especially about the "anti-communism" factor in US foreign policy. Students may well feel their sense of patriotism and other moral values are being threatened and thus react quite emotionally. Recall the reflections on patriotism noted in the Introduction to this volume and help them see that working to improve the policies of one's country is a real form of patriotism. Stress "America's better ideals" as the basis for evaluating the perspectives offered in this unit (see the concluding paragraph in "The Present Crisis" essay below).

SPECIAL RESOURCES

Human Rights Internet (1338 G. St. SE, Washington, DC 20003; 202-543-9200) is a source of several items. It is an international communications network and clearinghouse on human rights for scholars, activists, and policymakers. Of special relevance to teachers are the syllabi, bibliographies and other teaching resources it collects. TEACHING HUMAN RIGHTS (2nd edition coming late 1984) contains 27 syllabi for human rights courses, primarily for law schools and universities, but also for high schools. Its NORTH AMERICAN HUMAN RIGHTS DIRECTORY (1984) describes over 500 organizations active in international human rights and social justice.

For teacher (and older student) background reading

-- Norman Ornstein, WHO DECIDES: A CITIZEN'S GUIDE TO GOVERNMENT DECISION-MAKING ON NUCLEAR WAR (from Common Cause, 2030 M. St. NW, Washington, DC 20036) is an excellent, 1984, 35-page pamphlet that explains all the actors in the US foreign policy process and how citizens can have a great impact on foreign policy.

-- The August and September 1984 issues of the Center for Internationsl Policy's monthly INTERNATIONAL POLICY REPORT offer a two-part analysis of human rights and the Carter and Reagan Administrations' actions in the international financial institutions. Part One examines the cases of El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Grenada before the invasion. Part Two examines the human rights bureaucracy in both Administrations, how they function as well as their respective human rights record.

-- Sandy Vogelgesang, AMERICAN DREAM/GLOBAL NIGHTMARE: THE DILEMMA OF US HUMAN RIGHTS POLICY (New York: W.W.Norton, 1980); on the diplomacy, politics and economics of human rights with case studies of a Cambodian refugee, a Soviet dissident, and a Salvadorean peasant; written by a foreign policy planner at the US Department of State. Excellent on the intricacies of foreign policy decision-making and the human dimension of human rights.

-- Many publications of the Institute for Policy Studies are pertinent here, especially Richard Barnet, ROOTS OF WAR: THE MEN AND INSTITUTIONS BEHIND US FOREIGN POLICY (1973); their shorter Issue Papers, especially HUMAN RIGHTS, ECONOMIC AID, AND PRIVATE BANKS: THE CASE OF CHILE (1978) and HUMAN RIGHTS AND VITAL NEEDS (1977); and a number of works on US support of repression, on US-USSR relations (Wolff, THE RISE AND FALL OF THE SOVIET THREAT: DOMESTIC SOURCES OF THE COLD WAR CONSENSUS, 1979, is excellent on the growth of Presidential power in foreign policy), on South Africa, and on the Middle East. Write for a complete listing.

-- The publications of the Overseas Development Council are especially pertinent to the economic dimensions of US foreign policy. A number of them have been written by former high officials in the Carter administration, particularly Roger Hansen. Write for a complete listing.

-- The publications of the Foreign Policy Association are likewise pertinent, especially the GREAT DECISIONS Program (a set of readings and discussion questions on the vital foreign policy issues of each year), and two books, A CARTOON HISTORY OF US FOREIGN POLICY, 1776-1976 (over 200 cartoons by 120 leading American cartoonists, with brief explanatory text; 1976), and THE PUBLIC AND AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY, 1918-1978, by Ralph B. Levering.

Alternative or supplementary sources of classroom activities

-- See Human Rights Internet, TEACHING HUMAN RIGHTS (above)

-- "DANGEROUS PARALLEL" is a simulation in which high school students become leaders of six nations trying to resolve a crisis that threatens the whole world; $60 including an introductory filmstrip; produced by the Foreign Policy Association and available from Scott, Foresman & Co., Glenview, IL 60025.

-- WORLD HUMAN RIGHTS: POLICY AND PRACTICE is a 1980 filmstrip on the role of the US in human rights in Chile, Argentina, and South Africa and on the work of Amnesty International. $27 rental from Social Studies School Service, Box 802, Culver City CA 90230; 213-869-2436; includes teachers guide and student worksheet.

-- Robert Woito, INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS KIT (Chicago: World Without War Publications, 1981, 200 pp.) includes the texts of various human rights documents, action suggestions, and additional resources.

For student reading(see recommendations within the unit)

For regular updating

-- In addition to the WORLD POLICY JOURNAL (the quarterly 200-page publication of the World Policy Institute, 777 United Nations Plaza, New York, NY 10017), THE NATION (a bi-weekly magazine; write P.O. Box 1953, Marion, OH 43302) offers a perspective from the "left".

-- FOREIGN AFFAIRS (5 times a year, from the council of Foreign Relations, 58 East 68th Street, New York, NY 10021) is more representative of the "center", often with articles from policy makers.

-- WASHINGTON QUARTERLY (a quarterly from Georgetown University, Washington, DC, 20057) generally presents an analysis of US foreign policy from the "right".

-- Interfaith Action on Economic Justice and its National IMPACT mailings offer legislative updates on foreign policy issues especially with economic implications, particularly issues relating to food, international development, global economic justice, and domestic nutrition. Call its toll-free number: 800-424-7292.

-- AMNESTY ACTION and MATCHBOX are Amnesty International's (304 W. 58th St., New York, NY 10019) regular publications that monitor human rights violations worldwide and offer on-going action possibilities.

US FOREIGN POLICY: THE PROCESS AND PRIORITIES

GOALS

To help students understand how foreign policy is made, who is responsible for US foreign policy, and how they can affect foreign policy.

To help students understand the meaning of US "national interests" and to recognize how different the foreign policy priorities are for different groups in the US.

To help students come to their own sense of what our national interests and foreign policy priorities should be and begin to participate in working toward these priorities.

I. THE FOREIGN POLICY PROCESS IN THE US

A. Introductory Activities

1. Ask students the following introductory questions:

-- What does "foreign policy" include? (alliances and treaties, war, foreign aid, arms sales, tariffs, participation in international organizations, etc.).

-- What individuals and groups are, according to the Constitution and the official operation of the US government, responsible for making foreign policy? And what are their particular responsibilities in this regard?

-- What other individuals and groups exert extensive influence on foreign policy?

-- How do "the people" - ordinary citizens - affect foreign policy? What legal and extra-legal channels are open to us to influence foreign policy?

2. Answers to these questions will indicate whether you need to review basic facts about the US government and Constitution.(see WHO DECIDES by Ornstein for this material).

B. Foreign Policy: Process and Complexities

1. State Department perspective on the process: introduce students to the US State Department's perspective by using a 1980 booklet entitled "THE STATE DEPARTMENT AND FOREIGN POLICY" (write the Bureau of Public Affairs, Department of State, Washington, DC. 20520). You should use this booklet in section II below in comparing various perspectives on US foreign policy priorities.

2. "Simulation: The Decision-Making Model" might be used with high school and college students (minimum of 16 players) as a participatory learning experience in which students make their own decisions and experience the consequences - offering a firsthand understanding of the decision-making process in foreign policy and the ways in which politics, diplomacy, economics and citizen approval must be considered. (From the World Affairs Council of Philadelphia, 13th and Market St., Philadelphia, PA 19107).

3. Complexities of foreign policy decision-making: another State Department resource is a 27-minute film entitled "FROM WHERE I SIT", an

excellent AV outlining the impact of Congress, the media, and special interest groups on the making of foreign policy and the complexity of the issues (focusing specifically on increased trade with communist countries and the question of fishing rights). Available rental free; write the Bureau of Public Affairs for the distribution centers in your area.

C. Control over US Foreign Policy

1. The President's power: The Vietnam years

Concern over US foreign policy during the Vietnam War years centered on the power of the President. The President's role had been greatly enhanced since the end of World War II, and the power of Congress over war and peace had significantly declined. The issue came to a head over the Vietnam War.

2. Congress reasserts its power: The Late 1970's

The Vietnam years gave rise to legislation restricting the President's power to act apart from the consent of Congress. In the 1970's, Congress began to assert its power more and more (e.g., refusing to authorize military aid to Chile in 1975, refusing to approve covert CIA activities in Angola at the same time). The SALT II Treaty more than any other issue showed Congress' (and/or perhaps the Pentagon's) strength. Following the Panama Canal Treaty, President Carter seemed forced to give the Senate whatever concessions it wanted on the Treaty, including massive military spending increases, as the price for a support that never materialized. In the 1980's, Congress has both resisted and supported President Reagan's policies in Central America.

3. The Military-Industrial Complex (economic and military interests)

Many believe that the real power behind US foreign policy lies in the hands of the multinational corporations and banks whose economic interests US foreign policy seems so often to reflect. As a dimension of this reality, the Pentagon and its dependent defense corporations exert considerable influence on foreign policy. See the "Military-Industrial Complex" section in the unit on "The Military and US Life".

4. Activities

a. Compare this analysis with the answers the students gave to the second and third questions in section "A" above. Note the differences of opinion and use the following activity as a way of evaluating the accuracy of these opinions.

b. Research and role-play: Check out the above analysis and the students' own opinions by choosing one issue in US foreign policy (e.g., our Cuban policy, the Panama Canal Treaty, our Middle East policy, US support for repressive regimes as in South Korea or the Philippines, US support for South Africa). Have the students research US policy on the particular issue - what is it, who are the primary beneficiaries, who are (were) the major influences in shaping the policy. Students might be assigned a particular role (interest group or government agency) and told to lobby for a policy reflecting their interests, perhaps at a special meeting called by the President to examine the particular issue. See whose interests the policy is most conducive to and which groups played the major roles in determining the policy, at this hypothetical meeting. Have students discuss whether they think what happended at their meeting accurately reflects what happens in reality.

D. Citizen Involvement

1. Case study(s) of citizen involvement

As a way of discovering the various ways in which citizens have actually influenced or are influencing foreign policy, have the class research one (or several - in different groups) historical (e.g., the Vietnam War) or current (e.g., US nuclear policy and the Nuclear Freeze Campaign-see "War and Alternatives", pp. 286-289).

--List all the different ways in which the citizens worked to affect US policy in that case (possibilities include: demonstrations, petitions, resolutions by local governments or by churches, writing and/or visiting legislators, initiatives or referendums on local or state ballots; public education efforts like TV or radio shows or teach-ins or letters to the editor; draft counseling; civil disobedience - tax resistance, occupying facilities, symbolic destruction of files or weapons, blocking weapons shipments, draft resistence; violence - taking hostages, destruction of facilities).

--Have the class evaluate the various ways identified in their case study(s) and decide which they think are the most effective.

2. Research a present policy the students would like to change

To make the students' research and possible action more focused and more effective, we would strongly suggest that the class choose a policy around which a national or regional or local campaign has been launched. Part of the research would involve speaking with representatives of the campaign about the issue and their activities. For specific possibilities, see the case studies below. Depending on the particular campaign into which the students choose to integrate their efforts, depending on their time, talents and interests, students (individually or as a whole class) should choose a clearly defined role for themselves; set a timetable for themselves on carrying out their role and how; and begin. You should set a time for the whole group to re-assess their commitment and efforts (perhaps once or twice during the involvement as well as at the end).

II. US FOREIGN POLICY PRIORITIES

A. Historical Overview

1. Films

--Government Perspective: The US Department of State (contact the Bureau of Public Affairs for free rental information, see above) has a series of four 30-minute 16mm films presenting a government perspective on the evolution of US foreign policy priorities: "AN AGE OF REVOLUTIONS", "YOUTH TO MATURITY", "THE RELUCTANT WORLD POWER", AND "THE ROAD TO INTERDEPENDENCE".

--Critical Perspective: To balance the government perspective, you might show AMERICAS IN TRANSITION, a 30-minute 16mm presentation on US policy in Central America (from ICARUS) or another excellent documentary entitled "WHO INVITED US?" (National Education Television, 1970, available from most American Friends Service Committee offices). Though a little dated, it shows the interrelationships among economic, political and military goals in the determination of US foreign policy and points out the extensive intervention of the US around the world to protect and promote those goals. The first section, on the historical roots of US intervention (Manifest Destiny, the Open Door policy, the Philippines and Cuba, and the Russian Revolution), is especially pertinent. 60 minutes long, the film is fast-moving and directed at older high school students and adults and can be split in half, with the first half sufficient to raise most of the key issues.

2. Discussion questions

-- How did you feel watching the film(s)?

-- Do you think the film presents an accurate picture of US foreign policy in the Third World? In what ways accurate? In what ways inaccurate? (You might assign individuals or teams to research specific examples in the film to test their answers to this question).

-- (Especially if you showed "WHO INVITED U.S.?) Do you think US foreign policy priorities have changed since the film was made?

-- After this discussion, you might assign the Democratic and Republican perspectives on US foreign policy priorities, as a way of looking at the third question above more carefully.

B. Analysis of Present US Foreign Policy Priorities

1. Background for the student essays

The excerpts from President Carter's major foreign policy address on May 9, 1980, present all the major points from his address and represent what might be called the "Democratic Party" perspective. The perspective of the "Republican Party" is reflected in excerpts from the 1980 Republican Party Platform and in excerpts from President Reagan's speech to the 41st annual convention of the National Association of Evangelicals, March 8, 1983. This speech provides the "spirit" of the Reagan perspective, while the Platform excerpts provide more of the factual content. The third perspective is that of the World Policy Institute, as expressed in a lengthy essay in its WORLD POLICY JOURNAL by Jerry W. Sanders, entitled "SECURITY AND CHOICE". His more general analysis of what he see as a constructive alternative to both of the other perspectives and calls "progressive internationalism" is supplemented by the "Blueprint in Brief", a summary of a lengthy program for an alternative US policy for Central America, based on the same priorities and assumptions as Sanders' "progressive internationalism". Sanders' alternative US policy in relation to the Soviet Union is similar to George Kennan's recommendations in "An Agenda for Improving Relations Between the US and the USSR"(see the unit on "US-USSR Relations", p.) and thus is omitted here because of space limitations.

2. Consideration of the three perspectives

-- Duplicate the essays for the students. Have them read "The Present Crisis" first and discuss the questions at the end of the excerpts. Have them identify what they think are "America's better ideals" that the excerpts conclude with and use these ideals as the basis for evaluating the three perspectives that follow.

-- Have students read the three essays and ask clarifying questions on their content before considering the discussion questions that accompany each essay.

Have students keep in mind and note down answers to the following concerns/questions as they read each essay.

- -- what "national interests" are identified/stressed in each perspective?
- -- what means to achieve these interests are identified/stressed?
- -- what risks are involved in pursuing each of the perspectives?
- -- what is the view of Soviet Union that is expressed in each perspective?

-- After reading all three, (including the Kennan essay perhaps), have students identify the differences in both content and spirit, particularly with regard to the three concerns above. Have students evaluate the three perspectives, first by characterizing each perspective -- some adjectives might include "naive", "realistic", "paranoid", "balanced", "risky", "dangerous". Then have students respond to questions like:

- -- which of the three does the most "justice to America's better ideals"?
- -- which of the three involves those kinds of risks that are worth taking?

C. The Place of Human Rights in US Foreign Policy Priorities

1. The importance of human rights in general

-- Have students read the UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS (below p. 141) and identify what they consider to be the most important parts of that document. You might also ask them to identify those rights that are stressed in capitalist countries like the US and those rights that are stressed in socialist countries. It is important for students to discover the "relativity" of human rights concerns and performance among various countries, especially the US and the USSR. The First World seems to stress civil/political rights, while the Second World stresses social/economic rights.

-- To personalize this whole study, you might suggest that students read a biography of Eleanor Roosevelt, a great peacemaker who labored hard at the United Nations for the adoption of the UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS. Among such biographies is Joseph Lash, ELEANOR: THE YEARS ALONE (Signet Books, 1972).

2. Examine the "mainstream" perspectives

As a way of checking whether President Carter's emphasis on human rights and President Reagan's emphasis on freedom (recall their perspectives above) are more rhetoric than actual policy or vice versa, as well as a way of focusing on what US foreign policy priorities should actually be, have students consider the following events. They all involve a conflict between human rights and "anti-communism". Given the national(US) belief in the inalienability of human rights, ask students to explain these actions of the US government and discuss the importance of anti-communism as a factor in the events:

-- In 1975, the US provided military and economic assistance to 54 nations whose governments are authoritarian and to varying degrees "anti-Communist". In many of them, like Chile, basic human rights are consistently being violated. Today, most of that aid continues/and in many cases has increased, especially in Central America.

-- At the same time, Congress passed an amendment to the 1976 Foreign Assistance Act prohibiting US development assistance to governments which engage in a consistent pattern of gross violations of internationally recognized human rights, unless the aid directly benefits needy people. On different occasions since its passage, this amendment has been at least to some degree applied - to Nicaragua (but only after Somoza was doomed), to Chile (for a short time), to Guatemala.

-- When this amendment was applied to El Salvador in the early 1980's -- in the form of the President having to certify every six months that the Salvadoran government was moving on the human rights issue, including a serious investigation into the murder of the 4 US women missionaries -- President Reagan strongly resisted. In the 1983 Kissinger Commission report on the future of US policy in Central America, it was only a small minority within the Commission that pressed for the inclusion of human rights as a condition for the massive increases of US aid recommended by the Commission.

-- The case studies of the Philippines and Nicaragua (pp. 143 and 158) offer classic examples of this conflict, especially in the statements of the US government and their counterpoints.

-- Have the students read the UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS(UNDHR,see below) and discuss the following fact. In October, 1977, President Carter signed two landmark United Nations documents, THE COVENANT ON CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS and the COVENANT ON ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL RIGHTS, which make the UNDHR principles more concrete, and presented them to the US Senate for ratification in early 1978. Nothing has happened yet. The Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy offers the following analysis. Read it to the students and ask whether they agree (and why or why not) with the analysis:

> "Officially adopted by the United Nations in 1966, the Covenants are binding only on nations which have ratified them. By ratifying, a nation agrees to move rapidly toward guaranteeing these rights to their own citizens and to uphold and defend these standards in the international community".
>
> "The United States has not ratified either of these Covenants. Why? Partly, our own history of racism and political isolationism have made presidents and senators wary of expressing support. Another reason is an American public unaware of the breadth, urgency and meaning of human rights. Finally, a major thrust of US foreign policy requires, directly and indirectly, support by the US for countries which grossly violate the human rights of their citizens".

-- Have students read or recall President Carter's speech (below) where he discusses the balancing of human rights concerns with US strategic interests. The first two discussion questions at the end of his speech are pertinent here.

-- You might show the ABC News Closeup production THE POLITICS OF TORTURE (50-minute, 16mm, color film, California Newsreel; $70 rental) on this conflict in US policy in the examples of Iran, the Philippines, and Chile. The film raises disturbing questions about the role of the US government and major financial institutions in supporting repressive regimes.

3. Country case studies

a. Introduction: Partly to evaluate the analysis implied in the previous section and to probe more deeply and concretely into US foreign policy priorities and the importance of human rights in particular, have your students (individually or in small teams) research a specific country in which the conflict between human rights and other geopolitical concerns is most evident. In addition to the groups listed below for each country, have students contact the appropriate "country desk" in the State Department (that office in the State Department responsible for the country being researched).

b. Research focus: Have students identify the key elements/priorities of US policy regarding the specific country, where human rights concerns actually fit in, and where the student(s) think human rights concerns should fit in. In other words, after analyzing US policy regarding the country, have them formulate a foreign policy they would prefer and explain why.

c. Possible countries to study:
Besides the special case studies in this volume -- the Philippines, below; Nicaragua, below; and El Salvador, with the unit on "Global Poverty and Development", there are a number of other interesting options, including:

-- CHILE (contact the Chile Committee for Human Rights, 1901 Q Street, N.W., Washington, DC 20009; and see the resources listed in the unit on "Global Poverty and Development", p. 58).

-- SOUTH AFRICA (contact the American Committee on Africa, 198 Broadway, New York, NY 10038; and the Southern Africa Media Center and its resources, at California Newsreel).

-- KOREA (contact the North American Coalition for Human Rights in Korea, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, NY 10027; and the Church Committee on Human Rights in Asia, 5700 South Woodlawn, Chicago, IL 60637, which focuses on the Philippines and Indonesia as well).

d. Action possibilities: both the "case study of citizen involvement" in section ID above and these case studies should lead students to action. Many possibilities are offered in the case studies. In addition, see the more personal ways of connecting with the lives of the people in many of these instances that are offered in the unit on "Global Interdependence", especially pp. 111-114.

4. Human rights and younger students

The Center for Peace and Conflict Studies at Wayne State University (5229 Cass Avenue, Detroit, MI 48202) has published three excellent booklets for younger students:

-- THE DECLARATION OF THE RIGHTS OF THE CHILD AND THE CHILD'S DECLARATION OF RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES, Marion Edman, Lillian Genser, Editors, 1979, 15p., illustrated, for grades 4-7, paraphrases the United Nations' 1959 Declaration and makes it more meaningful by describing the responsibilities entailed by each right and by asking thoughtful questions on each point. The book helps children develop compassion, good ethical concepts, responsibility toward themselves, toward parents, toward law and work. The text of the UN Declaration of the Rights of the Child is included.

-- PEOPLE HAVE RIGHTS! THEY HAVE RESPONSIBILITIES TOO. A Study Guide for the Universal Declaration of Human Rights for the Use of Young Citizens, Lillian Genser and Rudy Simons, Editors. 1980, 30p., illustrated, for grades 6-10, retells the Universal Declaration. This attractively printed and illustrated guide can be read by youngsters in the simpler, more familiar, yet accurate language. Questions for thought and discussion follow each of its thirty articles. Many interesting examples illustrate its concepts.

-- THE HUMAN FAMILY, HUMAN RIGHTS, AND PEACE. A Sourcebook for the Study and Discussion of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, a Lay Version for the Common Man, Woman and Child. Alice Doumanian Tankard, 1973, 55p., for grades 9-12. By translating the official language of the Declaration into forms which speak to the hearts and minds of people of all ages, by posing probing questions about its meaning and intent and bringing together relevant illustrations from history and the current scene with excerpts from congenial writings, this guide brings the historic document, its spirit and its message, to a larger public than it has had heretofore.

There are several periods during the year when it is particularly relevant to raise human rights concerns:

December 10	Human Rights Day (anniversary of the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights)
December 10-17	Human Rights Week
September 11	Anniversary of the military coup in Chile (9/11/73)
October 10	Prisoner of Conscience Day and Week
November	Thanksgiving (last Thursday)
January 15	Dr. Martin Luther King's Birthday
February	Black History Month
March 8	International Women's Day
June 16	Soweto school children's uprising in South Africa (6/16/76)
August 6-9	Anniversary of the dropping of the first atomic bomb on Hiroshima, Japan

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"THE PRESENT CRISIS"

"As mid-decade approaches, the 1980s distinguish themselves as years of self-imposed insecurity. Today we shudder less at the prospect of disastrous acts of fate than we do at the possible consequences of our own actions. Legions of physicists and physicians, American and Soviet alike, give somber testimony as to the devastating implications of nuclear war while officials in Washington and Moscow persist in planning to fight it. In Europe, citizens on both sides of the continent's ideological divide watch in numbed disbelief at the current rehearsals for still another showdown on their battle scarred homeland. In New York and London, bankers labor feverishly into the eleventh hour, patching together a tenuous credit package to stay one step ahead of financial ruin -- their own as well as their Third World clients'. In Cartagena, Latin American finance ministers huddle to discuss their worsening economic plight, a wary eye cast on the slums that ring their resort setting. A few days later in Washington comes the announcement that the prime interest rate has climbed again -- never mind the estimated $1 billion it will add to Latin America's towering debt.

"Perhaps never before has the fate of so many hung in the balance together, determined by so few in the command posts of great power... Is insecurity inevitable in such an environment?.... Do our policies flow from a clearly articulated framework or are they merely disconnected episodes of rearguard desperation?....

"But the problem does not originate with Ronald Reagan. It stems from a general lack of vision, among Democrats as well as Republicans, liberals as well as conservatives. At its most imaginative, the mainstream political menu promises little more than "management" of interdependence and "containment" of pluralistic movements through a mix of carrots and sticks more balanced than the one offered by Reagan.... As long as our thoughts and actions are governed by the stale definition of security that equates international stability with American power, we will remain trapped in a perpetual contest over some dubious advantage, be it in the military, economic, or political realm. If we regard evolutionary change as intolerable challenge, we will create a breeding ground for the very threats we seek to avoid. We will plunge blindly into new rounds of the arms race, lurch from one intervention to another, and engage in damaging trade wars with hardly a second thought to the mounting risks of such adventures.... Enough is enough. The time has come to take a hard look at the world as it really is and to draw up a conceptual map that can lead us beyond the wilderness of present obsessions toward a path of new understanding.... Only then, through our policies and actions, can we begin to create for ourselves a place in the world that does justice to America's better ideals".
(from the introduction of Jerry W. Sanders' "Security and Choice" essay, WORLD POLICY JOURNAL, Summer 1984, pp. 677-9, and reprinted with permission)

Discussion Questions

-- What does he mean by "self-imposed insecurity" and what evidence is there to support this description of the present? How would you describe the mid-1980s?
-- Do you agree that "perhaps never before has the fate of so many hung in the balance together, determined by so few...?" Why or why not?
-- After reading the Carter and Reagan excerpts, would you agree with his criticism of both as "equating international stability with American power"? What is the "mix of carrots and sticks" that Carter used? That Reagan has used?

"US INTERESTS AND IDEALS" -- THE "DEMOCRATIC" PERSPECTIVE

(Following are excerpts from an address by President Carter before the World Affairs Council in Philadelphia, Pa. on May 9, 1980.)

For the past 6 months, all our policies abroad have been conducted in the glare of two crises, the holding of American hostages in Iran and the brutal invasion of Afghanistan by the Soviet Union. In meeting these crises our tactics must change with changing circumstances. But our goals will not change and have not wavered. The central reality that confronts America today is that of a complex world, a world that is turbulent because it is politically awakened in its entire breadth for the first time in its collective history. Our world is one of conflicting hopes, ideologies, and powers. It is a revolutionary world which requires confident, stable, and powerful American leadership--and that's what it is getting and that's what it will continue to get--to shift the trend of history away from the specter of fragmentation and toward the promise of genuinely global cooperation and peace.

So we must strive in our foreign policy to blend commitment to high ideals with a sober calculation of our own national interests. Unchanging American ideals are relevant to this troubling area of foreign policy and to this troubled era in which we live. Our society has always stood for political freedom. We have always fought for social justice and we have always recognized the necessity for pluralism. Those values of ours have a real meaning, not just in the past 200 years ago or 20 years ago, but now, in a world that is no longer dominated by colonial empires, and it demands a more equitable distribution of political and economic power.

But in this age of revolutionary change, the opportunities for violence and for conflict have also grown. American power must be strong enough to deal with that danger and to promote our ideals and to defend our national interests. That's why the foreign policy which we've shaped over the last 3 years must be based simultaneously on the primacy of certain basic moral principles -- principles founded on the enhancement of human rights -- and on the preservation of an American military strength that is second to none. This fusion of principle and power is the only way to insure global stability and peace while we accommodate to the inevitable and necessary reality of global change and progress. . .

Instead, Americans must be mature enough to recognize that we need to be strong and we need to be accommodating at the same time,. . . to protect our own interests vigorously while finding honorable ways to accommodate those new claiments to economic and political power which they have not had in the past. . .
Our task is to build together a truly cooperative global community, to compose a kind of global mosaic which embraces the wealth and diversity of the Earth's people, cultures, and religions. This will not be an easy task. The philosophical basis of such a community must be respect for human rights as well as respect for the independence of nations.

In promoting that prospect for a future of peace, we will stay on the steady course to which we have been committed now for the last 3½ years. We pursue five major objectives:

First, to enhance not only economic but also political solidarity among the industrialized democracies;

Second, to establish a genuinely cooperative relationship with the nations of the Third World;

Third, to persevere in our efforts for peace in the Middle East and other troubled areas of the world;

Fourth, to defend our strategic interests, especially those which are now threatened in southwest Asia; and

Fifth, to advance arms control, especially through agreed strategic arms limitations with the Soviet Union, and to maintain along with this a firm and a balanced relationship with the Soviets. . .

Cooperation with the Third World: Second, we will persevere in our efforts to widen the scope of our cooperation with the newly awakened nations of the Third World. By the end of this century, 85% of the world's population will be living in Latin America, Asia, and Africa. In the last several years -- through the Panama Canal treaties, through our commitment to majority rule in Africa, and through normalization of relationships with China -- we have vastly improved the relationship of the US with these regions. We can be proud of our accomplishments in building strong new bridges to the developing world.

Defense of Strategic Interests: Fourth, and very important, the West must defend its strategic interests wherever they are threatened. Since 1945, the US has been committed to the defense of our hemisphere and of Western Europe, and then later of the Far East, notably Japan and Korea. These commitments for common defense are very valuable to the people involved in those other areas, and, of course, they are extremely valuable to us as well.
In recent years it has become increasingly evident that the well-being of those vital regions and our own country depend on the peace, stability, and independence of the Middle East and Persian Gulf area. Yet both the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the pervasive and progressive political disintegration of Iran put the security of that region in grave jeopardy. . .

Detente with the Soviets remains our goal, but detente must be built on a firm foundation of deterrence. The Soviets must understand that they cannot recklessly threaten world peace. They cannot commit aggression, and in doing that must realize that they cannot still enjoy the benefits of cooperation with the West, and specifically with us. They must understand that their invasion of Afghanistan has had a profound adverse effect on American public attitudes toward the Soviet Union.

We represent a strong but peaceful nation and there can be no business as usual in the face of aggression. The Soviets will not succeed in their constant efforts to divide the alliance in Europe or to lull us into a false belief that somehow Europe can be an island of detente while aggression is carried out elsewhere.

Together these five objectives that I have outlined are the compass points that guide America's course in this world of change and challenge. They link our specific actions to each other, to the past, and to the future.

Our foreign policy is designed to be responsive to the revolutionary age in which we live. To be effective, it must have the wise understanding and the wide support of the American people. That depends on public realization that foreign policy is not a matter of instant success. We must expect prolonged management of seemingly intractable situations and often contradictory realities. To play our historic role of protecting our interests and at the same time preserving the peace, the United States must be steady and constant. Our commitment to American ideals must be unchanging and our power must be adequate and credible.

Discussion Questions

1. Name what you think are "our own national interests" which the President says need to be "soberly calculated." How many of these national interests are mentioned in these excerpts from his speech?

2. How effective was the "fusion of principle and power, of strength and accomodation," during the Carter administration of 1976-1980? Give examples of where the two were in fact fused. Give examples of where one yielded to the other. In crises, which of the two tends to give way? Why?

3. There is no mention, here or in the full text, of economic relations between the US and the Third World, no mention of economic development in the Third World. What do you think that implies?

"PEACE THROUGH STRENGTH" -- THE "REPUBLICAN" PERSPECTIVE

(excerpts from President Reagan's March 8, 1983 speech to the National Association of Evangelicals)

"But whatever sad episodes exist in our past, any objective observer must hold a positive view of American history, a history that has been the story of hopes fulfilled and dreams made into reality. Especially in this century America has kept alight the torch of freedom, but not just for ourselves, but for millions of others around the world.

And this brings me to my final point today. During my first press conference as President, in answer to a direct question, I pointed out that as good Marxists-Leninists, the Soviet leaders have openly and publicly declared that the only morality they would recognize is that which will further their cause, which is world revolution. I think I should point out, I was only quoting Lenin, their guiding spirit who said in 1920 that they repudiate all morality that proceeds from supernatural ideas -- that is their name for religion -- or ideas that are outside of class conceptions...

Well, I think the refusal of many influential people to accept this elementary fact of Soviet doctrine illustrates an historical reluctance to see totalitarian powers for what they are. We saw this phenonmenon in the 1930's. We see it too often today. This does not mean we should isolate ourselves and refuse to seek an understanding with them. I intend to do everything I can to persuade them of our peaceful intent, to remind them it was the West that refused to use its nuclear monopoly in the 40's and 50's for territorial gain and which now proposes 50 percent cuts in strategic ballistic missiles and the elimination of an entire class of land-based intermediate-range nuclear missiles.

At the same time, however, they must be made to understand we will never compromise our principles and standards. We will never give away our freedom. We will never abandon our belief in God. And we will never stop searching for a genuine peace, but we can assure none of these things America stands for through the so-called nuclear freeze solutions proposed by some.The truth is that the freeze would be a very dangerous fraud, for that is merely the illusion of peace. The reality is that we must find peace through strength....

So I urge you to speak out against those who would place the United States in a position of military and moral inferiority... I urge you to beware of the temptation of pride -- the temptation of blithely declaring yourselves above it all and label both sides equally at fault, to ignore the facts of history and the aggressive impulses of an evil empire, to simply call the arms race a giant misunderstanding and thereby remove yourself from the struggle between right and wrong and good and evil.

I ask you to resist those who would have you withhold your support for our efforts, this administration's efforts, to keep America strong and free, while we negotiate real and verifiable reductions in the world's nuclear arsenals and one day, with God's help, their total elimination.

While America's military strength is important, let me add here that I have always maintained that the struggle now going on for the world will never be decided by bombs or rockets, by armies or military might. The real crisis we face today is a spiritual one: at root, it is a test of moral will and faith."

EXCERPTS FROM THE 1980 REPUBLICAN PARTY PLATFORM

"The foreign policy of the United States should reflect a national strategy of peace through strength. The general principles and goals of this strategy would be:

-- To inspire, focus, and unite the national will and determination to achieve peace and freedom;

-- To achieve overall military and technological superiority over the Soviet Union;

-- To create a strategic and civil defense which would protect the American people against nuclear war at least as well as the Soviet population is protected;

-- To accept no arms control agreement which in any way jeopardizes the security of the United States or its allies, or which locks the United States into a position of military inferiority;

-- To reestablish effective security and intelligence capabilities;

-- To pursue positive nonmilitary means to roll back the growth of communism;

-- To help our allies and other non-Communist countries defend themselves against Communist aggression; and

-- To maintain a strong economy and protect our overseas sources of energy and other vital raw materials.

(from Robert Scheer, WITH ENOUGH SHOVELS (New York: Random House, 1982, pp. 127-128).

Discussion Questions

-- What do President Reagan and the Platform mean by "peace through strength"?

-- What does President Reagan mean by "freedom" -- freedom for what, freedom from what, freedom for whom? How does this compare with your own understanding of "freedom"?

-- Do you agree with his statement that "any objective observer must hold a positive view of American history" and that it would be a "temptation... to label both sides equally at fault"? Why or why not? What evidence would he cite for his position? What evidence would you cite for yours?

-- Would you agree with his characterization of the Soviet Union as "an evil empire"? Why or why not? (See unit on "US-USSR Relations, for further perspectives on this question.)

"PROGRESSIVE INTERNATIONALISM" -- AN ALTERNATIVE PERSPECTIVE

(excerpts from Jerry W. Sanders, "Security and Choice", WORLD POLICY JOURNAL, Summer 1984, and reprinted with permission of the World Policy Institute)

A US security policy recommitted to progressive internationalism must begin by restricting the military to defense - in principle, in doctrine, and in practice. By pushing military power out of the forefront and into the background of US foreign policy, and by relying on it only as a last resort, this approach would seek to encourage the peaceful settlement of disputes, the normalization of relations, and the reduction of arms wherever possible. This means that it would reject the use of nuclear weapons for goals that either can be achieved by better means - such as the defense of Europe - or are clearly objectionable - such as to back up conventional US forces in the Third World. Moreover, it would denuclearize our force posture, remove all troops that serve as tripwires for nuclear engagement, adopt a policy of no first use of nuclear weapons, and eliminate weapons with first-strike capability. It acknowledges the fact that expensive programs of forward-based power projection and extended nuclear deterrence only put the United States in a more dangerous position and render more precarious an already unstable international order. Finally, progressive internationalism recognizes that a posture of military austerity, which would provide for a stable, streamlined defense, is both the foundation for genuine national security and the crucial fiscal step toward a dynamic program of global economic partnership....

The Third World is the testing ground for progressive internationalism. A new global partnership will not take hold here unless Pax Americana is brought conclusively to an end. The economic transformation of the Third World simply cannot proceed in an environment of polarization, violence, and intervention. Yet the shortsighted policies that plunge these nations into deeper recession all but dictate social disintegration and political chaos. Routinely, the blunder is compounded by a routine resort to military force - hopelessly irrelevant as in Lebanon, blatantly illegal as in Nicaragua, or patently arrogant as in Grenada. These incidents have cost America dearly - both financially and in terms of international reputation and credibility. It is this historic pattern - of "shooting ourselves in the foot" - that poses the greatest threat to America's interests in the Third World, not revolutionary nationalism or Soviet expansion.

According to the official Cold War doctrine of containment, America's projection of militalry power throughout the world is necessary to stem the tide of communism. It is thought that revolutionary governments will align themselves with the Soviet Union and disrupt beneficial economic relations with the West - this despite the fact that "monolithic communism" was shattered with the Sino-Soviet split, more than two decades ago. It is past time to bury the notion that radical governments harm US interest. Radical states do not automatically align themselves with the Soviet Union. Those that have, like Cuba, did so largely because of unrelenting hostility and threats from the United States. If given an option, governments in the Third World would most likely choose political nonalignment and close economic and trade relations with the West.

The assumption that the Soviet Union is bent on world expansion is no longer reasonable either. We now have had 30 years by which to judge Soviet interest and intentions. The Soviet Union has committed troops outside the Warsaw Pact only once, and then to a country long within its sphere of influence. Moscow's primary preoccupation has been the maintenance of control over an increasingly restive Eastern Europe. And although the Soviet arms buildup is alarming, it must be understood in relation to our own. Moreover, as Michael MccGwire, an expert on Soviet military policy, points out, building up military power is one thing, using military force, quite another. While the Soviets have certainly increased their efforts in the former, they have proceeded with considerable caution on the latter.

Given these realities, a prudent US security policy in the Third World could draw down all power projection capabilities except those required to protect vital ocean shipping lanes, could end the practice of deploying US military forces around the globe, and could adopt a strict policy of nonintervention that respects national sovereignty and self-determination....

Mutual constraint, properly understood, can lead to a perception of mutual interest - in nonintervention, in avoiding regional showdowns, and in reducing the possibilities of nuclear escalation. The United States would do well to open discussions with the Soviet Union on a superpower code of conduct that would prohibit military intervention and deployment of destabilizing weapons in the Third World as well as establish other rules of conduct. As a first step in this direction, the United States could publicly and unambiguously pledge not to send its armed forces to any country where they are not now present, even it invited.

At the same time, the United States should pursue earlier Soviet offers to turn the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean into zones of peace and nonintervention. But again, instead of simply waiting for negotiations, the United States could start now with an additional independent initiative: a review of all military bases currently maintained abroad and the dismantling of those not essential to the protection of sea lanes or to the defense of NATO and Japan. This could be carried out in the context of a broader proposal for a multilateral conference on dismantling foreign military bases, including provisions for removing long-range weaponry now stationed on foreign territory.

Where the climate is right for negotiations that enhance reconciliation and assuage polarization in the Third World, the United States should by all means seize the opportunity. But where this is not the case, US leadership must be bold enough to take independent initiatives that reflect its true security interests and its better ideals - steps that can at the same time create the context for serious negotiation. Someone must find a way to break out of today's gridlock. The United States, with its considerable influence, can be that positive force if it takes measures to end arms transfers, adopts a new spirit of normalization, and revises its approach to peacekeeping.

First, with regard to the gift and sale of arms to the Third World, the United States should immediately resume the negotiations for restricting arms transfers that were begun in 1977 but broken off by the Reagan administration. To make these negotiations more meaningful, France, the United Kingdom, and other major suppliers of arms should be asked to participate. At the same time, to establish a serious and positive tone for negotiations, the United States could pledge that during a state of belligerency in any nonaligned country it will not sell or give arms to either side in the conflict, provided other countries abide by the same rule. But in any case, the United States should make any transfers of arms conditional on respect for human rights and the limitation of the weapons' use to defensive purposes.

With regard to normalization, the United States should make a concerted effort to improve relations with Cuba, Nicaragua, North Korea, and Vietnam. All have indicated an interest in better relations with the United States. Normalization would reduce regional polarization, expand US exports, and give these countries a greater stake in regional security and international economic relations. At the same time, the United States should follow a policy of refusing military and economic aid - except humanitarian and disaster assistance - to countries with consistent patterns of "gross violations of fundamental human rights".

Finally, the unilateral "peacekeeping" role the United States has attempted to play in the Third World should instead be taken on by regional and international peacekeeping forces. International peacekeeping forces, for example, could be used to patrol the Honduran and Nicaraguan border and to prevent any conflict from spreading, as Nicaragua has suggested. In Korea, an expanded UN peacekeeping force could replace US troops in and around the demilitarized zone. To facilitate the expanded use of UN peacekeeping forces, the United States should support the Palme Commission's "political concordant" proposal to increase the United Nations' capacity to prevent Third World conflicts from being settled by force. Under the terms of this proposal, the United States and other permanent members of the Security Council would agree not to oppose any UN peacekeeping mission in the Third World and to support automatic funding of such efforts. The United States might also make the establishment of a permanent UN peacekeeping force a top priority in its security agenda.

Discussion Questions

-- What are the main ingredients in Sawyers' "progressive internationalism"?

-- What does he mean when he says that "a new global partnership will not take hold there (in the Third World) unless Pax Americana is brought conclusively to an end? Do you agree? Why or why not?

-- Do you agree with his characterization of US policy in Nicaragua, Lebanon, and Grenada as "shooting ourselves in the foot" and that it is this kind of approach to the Third World "that poses the greatest threat to America's interests in the Third World, not revolutionary nationalism or Soviet Expansion"? Why or why not?

-- What does he mean concretely by a "superpower code of conduct" and do you think it would work? Why or why not?

-- (if the Kennan essay is read) Do you agree with Kennan's recommendations for a new relationship with the Soviet Union? Why or why not? What (else) would you want to include in such a relationship/policy?

"THE BLUEPRINT IN BRIEF"

(from CHANGING COURSE: BLUEPRINT FOR PEACE IN CENTRAL AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN, the basic document of the Central America Peace Campaign and written by policy Alternatives for the Caribbean and Central America (PACCA, 1901 Q St. NW, Washington, DC 20009) as both a short and long-term policy alternative for the region)

Principles for a New Policy

US foreign policy should be based on the principles which it seeks to further in the world. These include: non-intervention, respect for self-determination, collective self-defense, peaceful settlement of disputes, respect for human rights, support for democratic development and concern for democratic values. Adherence to these principles is critical to working out practical programs for regional peace and development.

A Program for Peace:To avert a wide war in Central America, the United States should take the following short-range steps:

-- NICARAGUA: cease backing the counter-revolutionary forces based in Honduras and Costa Rica, and support Contadora efforts to normalize relations between Nicaragua and its neighbors.

-- EL SALVADOR: cut off military aid, and support efforts for a negotiated settlement involving power-sharing among the contending forces.

-- HONDURAS: dismantle the US bases in Honduras, withdraw US troops and warships and participate in development aid.

-- GUATEMALA: express disapproval of the government's repressive policies toward indigenous people, maintain the cut-off of military assistance and provide aid for Guatemalan refugees in Mexico who have fled from the violence there.

-- COSTA RICA: oppose militarization and extend economic assistance.

-- CUBA: begin a process designed to achieve normal diplomatic and commercial relations.

A Program for Development:Development based on the needs of the majority in Central America and the Caribbean should be promoted by new US initiatives in the areas of aid, trade and debt.

-- AID: US economic assistance should flow towards those regional programs and governments that are narrowing the gulf between rich and poor, as well as to grassroots institutions and projects that diversify the economic base of each country.

-- TRADE: US trade should be liberalized alongside support of limited commodity agreements to help Central American countries stabilize earnings from their commodity exports.

-- DEBT: The US should support regional plans for renegotiation of external debt.

-- WORKERS AND MIGRANTS: The US should develop programs to compensate and retrain US workers affected by liberalized imports and guarantee rights to immigrant workers.

UNIVERSAL
DECLARATION
of
HUMAN RIGHTS

On December 10, 1948, the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted and proclaimed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the full text of which appears in the following pages. Following this historic act the Assembly called upon all Member countries to publicize the text of the Declaration and "to cause it to be disseminated, displayed, read and expounded principally in schools and other educational institutions, without distinction based on the political status of countries or territories."

Final Authorized Text

UNITED NATIONS

OFFICE OF PUBLIC INFORMATION

UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

PREAMBLE

Whereas recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world,

Whereas disregard and contempt for human rights have resulted in barbarous acts which have outraged the conscience of mankind, and the advent of a world in which human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief and freedom from fear and want has been proclaimed as the highest aspiration of the common people,

Whereas it is essential, if man is not to be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression, that human rights should be protected by the rule of law,

Whereas it is essential to promote the development of friendly relations between nations,

Whereas the peoples of the United Nations have in the Charter reaffirmed their faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person and in the equal rights of men and women and have determined to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,

Whereas Member States have pledged themselves to achieve, in co-operation with the United Nations, the promotion of universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms,

Whereas a common understanding of these rights and freedoms is of the greatest importance for the full realization of this pledge,

Now, Therefore,

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

proclaims

THIS UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this Declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance, both among the peoples of Member States themselves and among the peoples of territories under their jurisdiction.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Article 1. All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.

Article 2. Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.

Furthermore, no distinction shall be made on the basis of the political, jurisdictional or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs, whether it be independent, trust, non-self-governing or under any other limitation of sovereignty.

Article 3. Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person.

Article 4. No one shall be held in slavery or servitude; slavery and the slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms.

Article 5. No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

Article 6. Everyone has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law.

Article 7. All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law. All are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of this Declaration and against any incitement to such discrimination.

Article 8. Everyone has the right to an effective remedy by the competent national tribunals for acts violating the fundamental rights granted him by the constitution or by law.

Article 9. No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile.

Article 10. Everyone is entitled in full equality to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal, in the determination of his rights and obligations and of any criminal charge against him.

Article 11. (1) Everyone charged with a penal offence has the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law in a public trial at which he has had all the guarantees necessary for his defence.
(2) No one shall be held guilty of any penal offence on account of any act or omission which did not constitute a penal offence, under national or international law, at the time when it was committed. Nor shall a heavier penalty be imposed than the one that was applicable at the time the penal offence was committed.

Article 12. No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to attacks upon his honour and reputation. Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks.

Article 13. (1) Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state.
(2) Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country.

Article 14. (1) Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution.
(2) This right may not be invoked in the case of prosecutions genuinely arising from non-political crimes or from acts contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Article 15. (1) Everyone has the right to a nationality.
(2) No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality.

Article 16. (1) Men and women of full age, without any limitation due to race, nationality or religion, have the right to marry and to found a family. They are entitled to equal rights as to marriage, during marriage and at its dissolution.
(2) Marriage shall be entered into only with the free and full consent of the intending spouses.
(3) The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the State.

Article 17. (1) Everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others.
(2) No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property.

Article 18. Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance.

Article 19. Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

Article 20. (1) Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association.
(2) No one may be compelled to belong to an association.

Article 21. (1) Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives.
(2) Everyone has the right of equal access to public service in his country.
(3) The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures.

Article 22. Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security and is entitled to realization, through national effort and international cooperation and in accordance with the organization and resources of each State, of the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality.

Article 23. (1) Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment.
(2) Everyone, without any discrimination, has the right to equal pay for equal work.
(3) Everyone who works has the right to just and favourable remuneration ensuring for himself and his family an existence worthy of human dignity, and supplemented, if necessary, by other means of social protection.
(4) Everyone has the right to form and to join trade unions for the protection of his interests.

Article 24. Everyone has the right to rest and leisure, including reasonable limitation of working hours and periodic holidays with pay.

Article 25. (1) Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control.
(2) Motherhood and childhood are entitled to special care and assistance. All children, whether born in or out of wedlock, shall enjoy the same social protection.

Article 26. (1) Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.
(2) Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.
(3) Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.

Article 27. (1) Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits.
(2) Everyone has the right to the protection of the moral and material interests resulting from any scientific, literary or artistic production of which he is the author.

Article 28. Everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration can be fully realized.

Article 29. (1) Everyone has duties to the community in which alone the free and full development of his personality is possible.
(2) In the exercise of his rights and freedoms, everyone shall be subject only to such limitations as are determined by law solely for the purpose of securing due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others and of meeting the just requirements of morality, public order and the general welfare in a democratic society.
(3) These rights and freedoms may in no case be exercised contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Article 30. Nothing in this Declaration may be interpreted as implying for any State, group or person any right to engage in any activity or to perform any act aimed at the destruction of any of the rights and freedoms set forth herein.

THE PHILIPPINES - A CASE STUDY

This case study is appropriate for older students and focuses on one of the most important foreign policy issues -- the conflict between short-term (at least) US security interests and human rights. Three perspectives or policy options are offered for students to evaluate and vote on, as if they were members of the US House of Representatives. Once having formulated their own position on the question of US involvement in the Philippines (through US military bases and US military and economic assistance), they are then offered a variety of action possibilities for implementing their position. As an introduction to the issues and as a way of interesting students (and mobilizing their hearts as well as challenging their intellects) in the Philippines, the first part of the case study offers two personal stories as well as some background information.

A. The Present Situation

1. Some Vital Statistics

The following are statistics printed with permission of the NATIONAL CATHOLIC REPORTER, P. O. Box 281, Kansas City, Mo. 64141, from September 16, 1983 issue. (page 2). You might turn them into a multiple-choice type quiz or questions for the whole class to try to answer, as an alternative way of presenting the data. Consulting a map of the Philippines and the whole of Southeast Asia would be important for students to realize the strategic importance of the Philippines to US presence in that part of the world.

LAND - 7,000-plus islands, total 300,000 square kilometers, named after King Felipe of Spain. Three major island groups: Luzon, Visayas and Mindanao. Tropical climate.

PEOPLE - Population 52 million, 50 percent below the age of 21. Some 85 percent Catholic. Life expectancy is age 61; population grows 2.6 per cent annually; infant mortality is 55 per 1,000. Basic bloodstock is Malay, with infusions of Chinese, Spanish, Arab, American and others. Some two million to five million are cultural minorities, tribal Filipinos and Moslem Filipinos. Dominant language is Tagalog (Filipino); more than 80 other indigenous languages and dialects also are used, along with Spanish and English.

HISTORY - In the 1500s Spain began nearly 400 years of colonial rule (during which some 300 uprisings were put down). A revolution to gain independence began in 1896, with support and aid from the US, which also was fighting Spain in Cuba. Spain surrendered to the US, and Filipinos proclaimed their new republic June 12, 1898. But Spain's surrender treaty ceded the Philippines to the US (for the equivalent of $2 per Filipino head). In February 1899 Filipinos began fighting the US for freedom; more than a million Filipinos died (compared to several thousand Americans) before the rebellion was quelled. The US allowed the Philippines independence in 1946. Democratic elections were instituted; in 1965, Ferdinand Marcos assumed the presidency. In 1969, the Communist New People's Army was formed. In 1972, as his final term was about to expire, Marcos declared martial law; before it was officially lifted in 1981, more than 70,000 people had been detained and hundreds summarily executed. A widely questioned 1981 election again gave Marcos the presidency; he has promised another presidential election in 1987.

GOVERNMENT - Nominally a republic; in fact, a dictatorship since 1972 when Marcos declared martial law. Constructed after the US model with executive, legislative and judiciary branches.

ECONOMY - A capitalist system based on an export-oriented strategy. The Philippines is the fifth largest debtor in the world with a $20 billion debt and a predicted balance of payments deficit this year of $600 million-$800 million. Per capita income is around US $457 annually; at least a third of the population reportedly lives at or below the official poverty level. Minimum wage equals about US $2.50 a day; government figures say twice that is required to feed an average family of six.

2. More detail on the human rights situation

Have students read the three policy option pieces below, especially the speech of Tony Hall in the Congressional Record, for some detail on the general situation of human rights.

3. The personal dimension

a. The story of Santiago Alonzo: duplicate or read this story of a former Filipino political prisoner and his family's struggle for justice and a decent life.

b. The story of Mang Gener (see unit on "Global Poverty and Development): duplicate or read this story of a family denied their economic rights, as a way of sensing the economic realities of the Philippines and the spiral of violence that begins with such injustice and leads to resistance and is met with repressive violence.

4. An audio-visual overview:There are a number of excellent AVs that can present an overview of the situation in the Philippines today, especially with regard to the economic situation, human rights, and the involvement of the US government and US-based multinational corporations. PEOPLE OF THE FIELD (a 20-minute slide/tape presentation from Jubilee Crafts, Box 12236, Philadelphia, PA 19144) is particularly appropriate if you use the story of Santiago Alonzo, since he and his work are included in the presentation. See "Resources" below for other options.

B. US Government Policy Options

1. Introduction

In 1947, the US and the Philippines signed a Military Bases Agreement (MBA), under which Clark Air Base became the headquarters for the US 13th Air Force and Subic Bay Naval Base became the forward station for the US Seventh Fleet, the two largest US military bases outside the US. That agreement was extended in 1978, when $500 million was committed to the Philippines for a five-year period ending in September 1984. On June 1, 1983, the Reagan Administration concluded the latest review of the MBA. Under that agreement, in exchange for renewed US rights to Clark and Subic Bay, the Reagan Administration pledged to seek US Congressional approval of a five-year military and economic aid package totalling more than $900 million. For FY 1985, the Administration asked for $180 million of that total -- $95 million in "Economic Support Fund" (indirect military aid, according to some) aid and $85 million in military aid. During US Congressional debate on this matter in May 1984, after the House of Representatives had already transferred ("repackaged") $60 million of the $85 million of the military aid to economic support fund aid, Congressperson Tony Hall of Ohio introduced an amendment to cut the remaining $25 million of military aid.

2. Examine the Options

Duplicate and have students read the three options below (Hall's rationale for his option, taken from the Congressional Record of May 9, 1984; the Administration's rationale for full US assistance to the Philippines, as presented in TESTIMONY BY THE DEPARTMENTS OF STATE AND DEFENSE TO CONGRESS ON JUNE 17, 1983; and David Reed and Odette Taverna's call for immediate termination of all US aid to the Philippines, as presented in their article in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch of August 25, 1984 and discuss some of the following questions (substitute your own, depending on the awareness level of your students):

-- Do you think it is accurate to say, as Reed and Taverna do, that "the Reagan Administration defines foreign policy objectives by the one-dimensional criterion of fighting communism"? Why or why not?

-- To the extent that it is accurate, is it appropriate? That is, should "fighting communism" be the most important (if not only) dimension of US foreign policy? Why or why not?

-- Do you think it is accurate to say, again as Reed and Taverna claim, that "it is the Reagan policy that is now the main obstacle between the Filipino people and the true democracy they are seeking"? Why or why not?

-- In balancing the concerns for national security and human rights in foreign policy decisions, which is more important and why?

-- Can "short-term" security interests jeopardize "long-term" security interests, as implied in the Reed and Taverna article when they write that "the US must make a dramatic, unequivocable break with Mr. Marcos or face, in the near future, a populace increasingly hostile to any US presence in the Philippines"?

-- How accurate is it to compare current US actions in the Philippines with US actions early in Vietnam, as Reed and Taverna do in the final paragraph of their article?

3. How would you vote?

After discussing the three options and making sure that the students understand Hall's amendment, ask them to decide which of the following options they would vote for if they were Congresspersons:

-- For the Hall amendment

-- Against the Hall amendment

-- For the original Reagan request for $180 million, $95 million in economic support fund aid and $85 million in military aid

-- For an amendment calling for "immediate termination of all US aid".

After tallying the votes, have students discuss their own votes and their observations about the tally. This whole process should have prepared the students for the personal action options that follow, since they have now formulated their own views and taken a stand.

C. Personal Action Options for North Americans

1. Political Action

Depending on what stand individual students took, they can work to support that stand through the political process. Those who decided to oppose some or all US assistance to the Philippines can work through such groups as the Campaign Against Military Intervention in the Philippines (CAMIP). CAMIP was formed in 1983 to gather support in the US for a movement that began on January 6, 1983, in Manila, called the Anti-Bases Coalition (ABC). This Filipino movement, according to CAMIP, counts among its members 8 Catholic Bishops, prominent political leaders, and human rights activists and has called for unconditional withdrawal of the US bases. AS stated in its declaration of principles:

> "We Filipinos want to survive as Filipinos. We yearn for peace, freedom, and independence. In all our constitutions, we have renounced war and adhered to the law of nations. We aspire to be our own masters and no one's slaves. Yet the presence of US military bases on our land has impaired our sovereignty and independence, and made the threat to our survival as a people starkly real and immediate."

In support of ABC's goals, CAMIP has listed as its specific demands:

-- no US nuclear weapons in the Philippines;
-- no use of the Philippines as a springboard for US intervention in other countries;
-- no US-supported counterinsurgency activities against the Filipino people and no resettlement of Filipinos on base perimeters;
-- no US military aid to Marcos;
-- a US Congressional investigation into the effects of US bases on the human rights and social and economic conditions of the Filipino people.

2. Support for Political Prisoners

Letters to US (and Canadian) government officials as well as to President Marcos on behalf of political prisoners in general and specific prisoners as identified by such groups as Amnesty International, the Church Coalition for Human Rights in the Philippines, and the Task Force on Political Detainees in the Philippines are helpful. Letters to the prisoners themselves are also important. The "1983 FALL ACTION" campaign of Development and Peace in Canada has invited concerned persons to send a Christmas card to one of 31 prisoners listed in its special "Action Sheet" (write for a copy); to write the Philippine Ambassador in their country, protesting the increasing repression by the Philippine government against labor organizers and Church workers especially; and to encourage others to join in the effort.

3. Solidarity Buying and Public Education

The handicrafts made by former political prisoners like Santiago Alonzo not only make beautiful gifts and help support these workers who have been "black-listed" because of their imprisonment, but they also provide the opportunity to tell the story of the artisan(s). These stories have a way of touching the heart and mobilizing the action of the recipient. See the story of Santiago Alonzo and the description of his handicrafts distributed by such groups as Jubilee Crafts . His personal story is incorporated into an excellent slide presentation on the present situation in the Philippines and how North Americans can respond -- PEOPLE OF THE FIELD (see "Resources" for other AVs as well).

4. Financial Support for Community Development, Self-Help Projects

Generally, such projects are supported through religious agencies. In Canada, Development and Peace is an excellent agency through which to inquire about specific projects. In the US, Church World Service is supporting a number of such projects, including a special joint Muslim-Christian cooperative project call KAPAPAGARIA ("brotherhood") for the fishing village of Saluwagan on the island of Mindanao. A cooperative store with 80 members has enabled these farmers, bakers, and fishermen to market their own fish and produce without the previously exploitative intervention of middle-men. Contact Mr. Coy Markaban, project director, through the Kapapagaria Foundation, Pagadian City, Mindanao, Philippines. For further information on other Church World Service projects, contact CWS at 475 Riverside Drive, New York, NY 10115.

5. "Pairing" with Groups in the Philippines

Another dimension of support for specific projects and groups working for change in the Philippines is by pairing or twinning with them (see "Global Interdependence"). This more personal dimension provides additional support and motivation. Again, religious agencies are probably the best source for such possibilities. Contact either of the ones mentioned in #4 above, Maryknoll priest Tom Marti of the Mindanao Sulu Secretariat of Social Action (through Maryknoll Fathers, P.O. Box 143, Davao City 9501, the Philippines), or Dorothy Friesen at SYNAPSES (see "Resources") to see what the specific possibilities might be.

D. Resources for Further Study and/or Action

1. Groups:

-- CAMPAIGN AGAINST MILITARY INTERVENTION IN THE PHILIPPINES (CAMIP), 198 Broadway, New York, NY 10003; (212-964-6730) for pamphlets and legislative directives focused on human rights and the bases questions.

-- CHURCH COALITION FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE PHILIPPINES, Box 70, 110 Maryland Avenue, NE, Washington, DC 20002 (202-543-1094); for similar information, a monthly newsletter, and more detailed documentation through its PHIDOC bulletin series.

-- DEVELOPMENT AND PEACE, 3028 Danforth Avenue, Toronto, Ontario M4C 1N2; for similar information geared to Canadian audiences and for the "Action Sheet" on political prisoners in the Philippines.

-- FRIENDS OF THE FILIPINO PEOPLE, P.O. Box 2125, Durham, NC 27702; (919-489-0002); for pamphlets, AVs, and specific stories/testimony of Filipinos working for change.

-- SYNAPSES, 1821 W. Cullerton, Chicago, IL 60608; 312-421-5513; for action suggestions and possible linkages with groups in the Philippines.

-- TASK FORCE DETAINEES OF THE PHILIPPINES, 214 N. Domingo St., San Juan, Metro Minila, the Philippines; the source through which to get letters to specific Filipino political prisoners.

2. Materials (in additional to those listed above)-- Ask each of groups listed above for a list of their pamphlets and other materials.

-- THE PHILIPPINES: A COUNTRY IN CRISIS is the 142-page, December 1983 report of The Lawyers Committee for International Human Rights (36 W. 44th St., New York, NY 10036; (212-921-2160) on the state of human rights in the Philippines and US policy; excellent.

-- "THE PHILIPPINES" is the title of a special September, 16, 1983 issue of the NATIONAL CATHOLIC REPORTER (Box 281, Kansas City, MO 64141) focusing on many different aspects of Philippine reality and on US policy.

-- THE SOUTHEAST ASIA CHRONICLE (from the Southeast Asia Resource Center, P.O. Box 4000-D, Berkeley, CA 94704) is an excellent monthly journal, with 3 special issues on the Philippines: December 1983: "The Philippines After Aquino, After Marcos?"; April 1983; "US Military Bases in the Philippines"; and April 1982: "Philippines in the 80s".

-- UNITED STATES-PHILIPPINES RELATIONS AND THE NEW BASE AND AID AGREEMENT is the title of the complete hearings before the US House Foreign Affairs Committee, June 1983; an excellent source of testimony on all sides of the issues, with extensive documentation. Ask your Congressional representative for a copy.

In terms of audio-visual resources, in addition to PEOPLE OF THE FIELD (above), there are a number of excellent ones that address the concerns of this case study:

-- BAYAN KO: PHILIPPINE DIARY is a 28- minute 1984 16mm Maryknoll film examining the struggle of the Filipino people through the eyes of Church workers involved -- in 2 urban slum areas, in a rural land project, and with prostitutes and drug addicts.

-- AGRIBUSINESS GOES BANANAS (from Earthwork) describes the struggle of peasants like Mang Gener (see "Global Poverty and Development", p.) in the face of multinational corporations.

-- THE BASES OF OUR FEARS, sound slide show concerning US bases in the Philippines and their effect on local communities. Available rent-free from Mennonite Central Committee, Akron, PA 17501; 717-859-1151.

-- COLLISION COURSE, a 1978 BBC documentary that examines Philippine human rights conditions through the eyes of religious and political leaders; also rent-free from MCC (address above).

-- PARADISE LOST, a sound slide show revealing the effect of a large American pineapple corporation on the lives of Filipinos; also rent-free from MCC (address above).

-- TO SING OUR OWN SONG, a BBC documentary on the Philippines is available as a 16mm film from Church World Service (free) and as a video cassette from Charito Planas, 2821 S. Columbus, Arlington, VA 22206; 703-379 4340. Also available from Planas is a 1983 CBS special, OUR TIMES WITH BILL MOYERS - THE PHILIPPINES.

The Story of Santiago Alonzo

Santiago and Mirasol Alonzo live in the Manila area of Luzon, the northern island in the Philippines. Santiago was a political detainee in Philippine prisons from 1974 to 1978. It seems that he was in part randomly arrested. He was, at the time of his arrest, however, involved in the work of educating and organizing workers.

I enter a neatly arranged one-room building with a bed, curtained off to one side. In this tiny house, Santiago, Mirasol and their child eat, sleep and work on handicrafts, their main source of livelihood. Santiago laughed, "When it's time to eat, I clear the table of carabao bone, polish and paint so we can set the table with food".

Santiago's father was a nightwatchman and janitor and part-time carpenter. Before he was arrested in 1974, Santiago was subjected to electric shocks on his genitals, beatings and karate chops. His head was dipped into a toilet bowl for two minutes at a time. "But I gave them no information, because I knew nothing. That just made my interrogators angrier, because they were convinced I was holding back." The first visit Santiago's father made to the prison, he went into shock at seeing his son's condition after torture. The shock caused half his body to become paralyzed. The carpenter tools were sold to buy medicine for the father, since the family had no savings to handle this emergency. His father was 75 years old. Santiago's mother must work in order to supplement the $16 a month pension he receives from his janitor job. She buys cheese curls in bulk, repackages them and sells them in front of schools during breaks and lunch periods.

Santiago's case dragged on for years. Their motion for bail was denied and the trial was suspended indefinitely. A concerted effort in 1978 by the church in the Philippines and international support groups put pressure on the government to either release the prisoners or bring them to trial. Since no conclusive evidence was available, many of the 18 were released.

Mirasol picks up the story as Santiago hurries off to buy food to prepare for their guest. "Santiago and I married in 1973. He was arrested in 1974." "Wasn't it difficult to be separated so soon after your marriage?" I am curious. "We are involved in the same movement, have the same values and hopes, so we understood the cause of our separation. When Santiago was released, we started all over with married life. Sometimes we have disagreements," says Mirasol, who is obviously a strong woman, "but we are in basic agreement so our life is made up of struggle-unite - struggle-unity." When Santiago was arrested, Mirasol went to Mindanao to work for Dole. She comes from a poor family who could not afford to send her to college. She worked to put herself through two years of college, but dropped out during the student demonstrations in the early 1970's. "I was very lonely for my husband in Mindanao and I felt exploited at Dole. The hours were long and the pay wasn't good. The cost of living there was high". She returned so she could be closer to Santiago. After a series of transfers and an extended period of time in solitary confinement, Santiago was placed at Bicutan Rehabilitation Center, the government's prison showplace.

As the Alonzos' story unfolds, Santiago and Mirasol prepare lunch for me-fish, rice, vegetables - the typical Filipino fare. They work together, smiling and talking. I glance at a wall hanging above the table. It is a painting of the sun shining over a prison wall and guardhouse. The inscription is moving:

How cruel and inhuman/so high, so huge
this partition between us/for so long,
but in spirit we are one/as always
bound by the unbreakable bonds/of love
and longing for a justice. /Neither
this prison wall nor a hundred years/
of incarceration/shall diminish my love.

"I sent that to Mirasol when I was in Bicutan," says Santiago. Santiago learned some handicraft skills from other prisoners and joined their collective to produce wall decor, greeting cards and bone necklaces from which he earned about 50 pesos ($7) a week. "That's more than I earn now, sometimes," he says ruefully. Since jobs are difficult to find, particularly for ex-prisoners, Santiago decided to continue making greeting cards, pendants, and wall decor. "The problem is markets," says Mirasol. "We are grateful to Jubilee. Now we will have some Christmas money." (Jubilee Crafts ordered pendants and cards in November, 1980).

The pendants are made from the lower leg bone of the water buffalo (or carabao, as the Filipinos call them), an important Philippine farm animal. Santiago goes to the market and bargains for the bones of slaughtered carabao. He has to compete with Chinese merchants, who buy the bones to grind into bonemeal, and furniture makers, who use the bone in designs in chairbacks. "The price is going up, but we have to use carabao bones. Pig legs aren't strong enough. The present cost is about 80 cents per limn. About 10-20 pendants can be made from one limb. Santiago hauls the heavy sack of bones home by public transportation. The bones are boiled and bleached. The marrow is used to make soup for the family. The bone is cut with a handsaw into strips wide enough to carve the pendant. The strips are then shaped and polished with an electric polisher. "If there is a brown-out (a power cut) we just have to wait until the next day to do our work," says the neighbor boy who operates the machine.

The hole for the macrame chain is drilled with a borrowed electric drill. The painting and lettering on the bone pendants is done by Santiago. "It's such fine work. I haven't been able to spot someone who wants to be trained to do it." The youth who work on the macrame are paid two pesos for one macrame string. If they are skilled, they can produce 15 strings a day which would give them an income of about four dollars. (By way of comparison, rural industrial workers in the Philippines like those who work in the Dole cannery receive a minimum wage of about $2.00). Santiago dreams of having steady orders which could give more youth employment.

"Our baby was born cesarean, an expense which the detainees helped to shoulder. They contributed 2000 pesos towards the hospital costs. The doctor offered medicine and services free," says Mirasol. That information astounds me. Detainees from poor families who make 200 pesos a month from handicarft sales were able to contribute 2000 pesos. "There must have been a great feeling of unity among you to be able to do that," I observe. "Yes, we became very close in prison. We ate, slept, talked and worked together. We organized a university. We organized a handicraft collective inside the prison walls. When we saw other prisoners mistreated, tortured or saw our own conditions deteriorating, we protested. We went on hunger strikes," says Santiago. One strike, in 1976, lasted 76 days. The detainees ate only sweetened coconut and drank sweetened condensed milk.

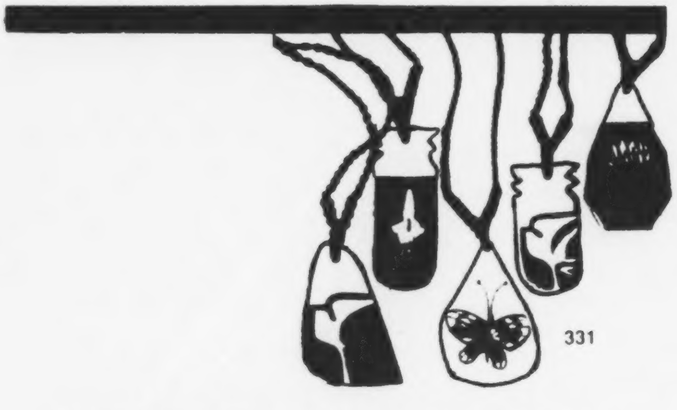
In April of 1981, Santiago's father died. He never really recovered from the shock when he saw Santiago's prison. The family spent a lot of money on medication. When he died, the Alonzos went into debt to help pay for the funeral.

The Alonzos see the crafts as a means to let others know about what is happening in the Philippines. They try to keep the prices as low as possible to make the crafts accessible to many people. At the same time, making crafts is the way they earn a living.

A June 1984 letter from Mirasol paints a picture of difficulties that they face everyday. The letter reminds us that our work to change US policy in the Philippines, as well as the sale of their handcrafts, affects the lives of the Alonzos.

> Life now in the Philippines is getting more difficult because of the floating rate. Since the election all the prices increased twice already, and it's not yet fixed ... Aside from the increase in prices, there is still a shortage in the supply of our prime commodities. Many factories are closing. Robberies become rampant ... Even if our current earnings become double, still it won't be enough to live sufficiently. There are times that we don't have even a single centavo (monetary unit). We are now practicing to drink coffee without milk and sugar. We eat our meals with boiled vegetables and a salted fish sauce called "bagoong" ... We can't be sure if we can send Santi to go for schooling this year because of the tuition fee hikes, increase of transportation fares (there's no school nearby), and very costly school materials and uniforms.

[Note: This story is compiled from reports from Jubilee Crafts, one of the distributors of Santiago's handicrafts. Dorothy Friesen wrote most of the first-person account of her visit to the Alonzos. Her Feb. 81 account was updated by M.J. Heisey.]



The bone pendants are carved from carabao (water buffalo) bone, polished, handpainted, and finished with fingernail polish. The cards are embossed, handpainted, and handlettered or silk-screened and handlettered.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. HALL OF OHIO

Mr. HALL of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

> Amendment offered by Mr. HALL of Ohio: Page 4, line 13, strike out "$587,250,000" and insert in lieu thereof "$562,250,000"; and after line 18, insert the following:
>
> (c) Assistance may not be provided for the Philippines for the fiscal year 1985 under chapter 2 of part II of such Act.

(Mr. HALL of Ohio asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. HALL of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, the amendment I am offering would cut from the foreign aid authorization bill $25 million in grant military assistance for the Philippines. It would not affect the $155 million in the bill for economic support fund aid.

The Reagan administration has pledged to President Marcos that it will make its best effort to provide the Marcos regime with a security aid package totalling $900 million over 5 years. The aid is in exchange for U.S. utilization of the Clark Field and Subic Bay bases in the Philippines.

The first installment of the funding would total $180 million for fiscal year 1985. The administration wanted to send $95 million in economic support fund aid, $60 million in foreign military sales credits, and $25 million in grant military assistance. However, the House Foreign Affairs Committee decided to defer the $60 million in foreign military sales financing to 1 of the 4 remaining years of the agreement, but added $60 million to the administration request for economic support fund aid. As a result, under the bill before the House today, the Marcos government still is scheduled to get $180 million, but it will consist of $155 million in economic support fund aid and $25 million in grant military aid.

In the committee report to accompany the foreign aid authorization bill, the Foreign Affairs Committee made the following observation about its decision to repackage the security assistance requested by the administration:

> It is the committee's view that the severe economic crisis presently confronting the Philippines is potentially far more dangerous than any present external military threat. Therefore the committee felt it would better serve the interests of both the Philippines and the United States to provide a higher level of economic assistance to the Philippines this year than the level requested by the executive branch.

I share the committee's view that the economic crisis facing the Philippines is more critical than any external military threat. While the United States has a security agreement with the Philippines, I am not aware of any immediate outside threat posed to that country by any hostile neighbors.

I think our colleagues on the Foreign Affairs Committee are on the right track and deserve to be commended for the action they have taken in repackaging the bases related aid. However, I believe that a stronger action is needed at this critical juncture in United States-Philippines relations. Therefore, I am proposing that we cut from the bill before us the $25 million for grant military aid for the Philippines.

Like the FMS funding deferred by the committee, the MAP funding can be restored in 1 of the 4 remaining years of the agreement if conditions regarding human rights and democratic processes improve. In this regard, let me again cite the Foreign Affairs Committee's report:

> In reviewing requests for future aid under the agreement, the committee will continue to take account of a number of factors, including economic conditions, the military needs of the Philippine Armed Forces, and the political situation is the country, including whether there has been significant progress in restoring democratic government and in curtailing human rights abuses.

The $25 million in military aid I am proposing to defer would be subject to the same conditions and considerations cited by the committee with respect to the foreign military sales financing it has deferred.

The deferral I am offering will no more affect the bases agreement than the action already taken by the committee. President Reagan's letter to President Marcos in which he pledged the best effort of the administration to obtain the $900 million security package for the Philippines did not specify that any particular amounts would be sought in any specific fiscal year. The President also made it clear to President Marcos that the U.S. Congress would have the final say on the funds appropriated. The President said in that letter to the Filipino leader, and I quote:

> As you are aware, under our constitutional system, the Congress has sole authority to appropriate funds.

The administration, as it pledged to President Marcos, has made its best effort this year. It has sought a total of $180 million in bases related aid, and that amount has been granted, but repackaged, by the Foreign Affairs Committee. I am proposing that we further exercise our constitutional authority and reduce that package for fiscal 1985 to $155 million by deferring the $25 million sought for grant military aid. My colleagues should be aware that this amount, even with my reduction, would be $55 million more overall than the $100 million provided in fiscal 1984.

In reality, it comes down to a question of exactly how much more we are going to give Marcos this year, not how much we are going to cut his aid.

The Members of this body are keenly aware of the need to hold down Federal expenditures. In particular, our constituents are asking us to take a careful and critical look at requests for foreign aid.

I am proposing a modest reduction in the aid for the Marcos government. Quite frankly, I think many of our constituents would wonder why Marcos deserves $155 million, let along $180 million in bases related aid.

Since the other body's Foreign Relations Committee has voted to defer $30 million of the foreign military sales financing sought by the administration and converted that amount into ESF aid, it is likely that some form of aid repackaging with respect to the Philippines will be enacted this year. Nevertheless, since the overall funding level of $180 million has not been reduced, the impact of any signal sent by the repackaging to the Philippines will be slight.

I would urge my colleagues to vote to send the strongest possible message to Marcos, to the opposition, and to the Filipino people. My amendment provides the best available vehicle for that message.

The amendment I am offering will indicate that there is concern in the U.S. Congress about human rights abuses by the Marcos regime and concern about the lack of civil and political liberties.

The timing of our vote is especially important in view of the upcoming May 14 parliamentary elections in the Philippines. While there is division in the opposition over participation in the elections, the opposition is united in its call for free and fair elections. Already, there have been charges of fraud in the registration of voters. Moreover, Marcos maintains concurrent legislative powers with the National Assembly, and he wanted to increase his appointments to the legislature from 17 to 35. Marcos appears to be doing everything he can to insure that he maintains his control over the National Assembly, notwithstanding the elections.

Because he is viewed as the key to maintaining U.S. access to the bases in the Philippines, Marcos has enjoyed uncritical U.S. support. Confidence of strong American backing emboldened Marcos since his red-carpet reception in the United States in 1982. The result was a wave of crackdowns on labor organizers, religious workers, journalists, and opposition leaders. Indeed, it was not until the disruptive aftermath of the Aquino assassination that the administration made any public effort to indicate uneasiness with the Marcos regime. As the Lawyers Committee for International Human Rights wrote in a December 1983 report on the Philippines:

> Military abuses in the Philippines are undoubtedly the subject of "quiet diplomacy." But quiet diplomacy is not heard by Filipinos. Growing numbers of Filipinos interpret the quiet as silence, and the silence as support.

Strategic security is the predominant consideration in this administration's policy toward the Philippines. Long-term Philippine-American relations in the post-Marcos era are being sacrificed now in the interest of maintaining short-term access to the bases. Absent any strong indication of U.S. concern about the human rights abuses by the Marcos government, it is likely that a successor government will only recall that the United States consistently stood behind Marcos—regardless of his treatment of the Filipino people.

In my opinion, a strong case has yet to be made concerning why the Marcos regime needs such a high level of security assistance. The immediate external threat has yet to be established.

It is clear, however, that U.S. military aid helps to oil the military machine that keeps Marcos in power. Cardinal Jaime Sin of the Philippines has been quoted as saying that U.S. military aid "only goes to slaughter Filipinos." Is this the image we wish to have with the Filipino people?

There is no doubt about the poor human rights record of the Marcos government. Here are some statements about human rights conditions under Marcos from the State Department's "Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 1983":

> In 1983 there were human rights abuses by Government security forces, particularly members of the Philippine Constabulary and the Civilian Home Defense Forces, including harassment of civilians, arbitrary arrest, detention, disappearances, torture, and "salvaging," or summary execution of suspected insurgents or sympathizers.
>
> Task Force Detainees, a Catholic Church-related group which investigates and compiles statistics on human rights violations and is often critical of the Government, reported that 146 persons were summarily executed by Government security force from January to June 1983, compared with 125 such killings for all of 1982.
>
> The Task Force Detainees human rights group listed 79 persons as having disappeared from January to July 1983, compared with 29 persons for all of 1982.
>
> While the most reliable source of human rights statistics, Task Force Detainees in Manila, had no figures on the number of cases of torture, Amnesty International's 1983 report called torture during incommicado detention of persons arrested on national security grounds "so prevalent as to amount to standard operating procedure for security and intelligence units."

Some similar points were made in "The Philippines: A Country in Crisis", a December 1983 report of the Lawyers Committee for International Human Rights:

> Persons seized as alleged subversives are beaten, suffocated, choked with water devices, subjected to electric shocks, burned, raped and mutilated.
>
> Church leaders, labor activists, journalists and human rights workers have been specially targeted for military abuses.
>
> A system of one-man rule supported by military force provides the context in which these violations occur. Vital safeguards inherent in a system of checks and balances no longer operate.
>
> Reports of political killings by government forces have sharply increased in the three years since martial law was lifted. The rate of such murders continues to escalate.
>
> In recent years, hundreds of civilians have been arrested and detained under presidential orders that the courts declare themselves powerless to review. Many who are arrested pursuant to presidential orders languish in jail for months or years after charges are dismissed or their sentences served, awaiting an order for their release that can come only from President Marcos.

These findings were confirmed by the report of a delegation representing five U.S. medical and scientific organizations, which visited the Philippines from November 28 to December 17, 1983. The five medical and scientific organizations, working in conjunction with the American Committees for Human Rights, were: the American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS), the American College of Physicians, the American Nurses' Association, the American Public Health Association, and the Institute of Medicine of the National Academy of Science.

This delegation concluded that "there has been a continuing pattern of gross violations of human rights carried out by certain elements within the government and the military forces of the Philippines." The group went on to state:

> On the basis of interviews with several past and present detainees who alleged that they were tortured while in the custody of military personnel or paramilitary groups, we are firmly convinced that torture and other forms of cruel, inhuman, and degrading treatment are real and pervasive problems.

Without a strong signal of U.S. concern about these human rights violations, it is unlikely that the Marcos government will feel compelled to reform these practices. Indeed, absent such a signal, Marcos may perceive that he has tacit U.S. support to increasingly apply state-approved terror as a means of internal control and suppression of dissent.

Unfortunately, our military aid, which is supposed to be used to counter external aggression, can be used by the Marcos government against the Filipino people. For example, the Philippines Constabulary, or police force is integrated into the command structure of the armed forces. In practice, there is little distinction between the armed forces and the Philippines Constabulary with respect to internal suppression. Section 660 of the Foreign Assistance Act prohibits "the use of funds available under the act to provide training or advice or provide any financial support for police, prison or law enforcement forces of any foreign government." However, the Philippines Constabulary is the recipient of direct military aid to the Philippines. State Department has said that to the extent that the constabulary receives military aid, it is considered to be part of the armed forces. However, this is not a real distinction since it operates as a police force as well. There is no guarantee that the $25 million provided under this legislation will not be sent for use by the Philippines Constabulary in perpetrating human rights violations upon the Filipino people.

Uncertainty and instability in the Philippines were brought to a head last year by the assassination of opposition leader Benigno Aquino. At this important and sensitive time, we need to let the Filipino people know that the United States is concerned about the future of democracy in the Philippines. Those hoping to restore democracy in the Philippines need an indication that the United States is seeking to place some distance between itself and the abuses of the Marcos regime.

I believe that actually cutting, not just repackaging, the amount requested for the Philippines is needed. I urge my colleagues to join with me in reducing foreign aid and sending an important message to the Philippines.

Mr. PRITCHARD. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words, and I rise in opposition to the amendment.

Mr. Chairman, certainly this is a difficult question, and there are a variety of views as to how we should meet our base agreements that our Government in good faith signed with the Philippine Government. I think all of us recognize the importance of the bases, and I doubt that there is any Congressman in this body who wants to break the base agreement and lose the bases. The question is: How much adjustment can we make sending a signal to the Philippine Government without breaking our word?

Now, our judgment was that in the committee we were free to make some changes between military and economic aid, and we did that. We switched $60 million from military to economic aid.

I believe, and I think most people who have covered this situation believe, that if you strike $25 million from the agreement, you are breaking our word and you are breaking the base agreement.

We are sending a strong signal. And obviously it was a compromise. Certainly not all people on this side of the aisle are enthusiastic about this agreement. The administration opposed it and thought we were making a mistake. Certainly the Marcos government is not happy with the adjustments we made in committee. But we have sent a signal, we have switched some money, but we have not broken our word.

Let us remember one thing: There is going to be an election in the Philippines. After this election, if we want to make some changes, we will have an opportunity to do it. But we should not cut out this $25 million. I would only urge the Members to remember we have an agreement with the Philippine Government for our bases, and to reduce the amount of money would violate that base agreement.

So I would urge the Members, even though I know they are bothered, deeply bothered, by the conditions in the Philippines, to allow the bill to go through as it is.

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THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION POSITION: SUPPORT FOR US AID AND THE BASES

(The following excerpts from the testimony of Paul Wolfowitz, Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs, and Richard Armitage, Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs, to the Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the US House of Representatives, June 17, 1983, speak to the need for both the US bases and US aid and to the concern of the US government for human rights; see "Resources" below for data on the entire hearings).

"The Role of the US Military Presence

US military forces in the Philippines are evidence of our abiding commitment to the Philippines under our Mutual Defense Treaty. This security relationship is in turn a key element of our policies toward Southeast Asia, which have contributed significantly to the peace, security and remarkable economic growth and political stability of the entire region.

Our facilities at Subic Bay and Clark Air Field play a crucial role in furthering our efforts: to provide an effective counterbalance in the area to the growing military power of the Soviet Union and its surrogates; to support our treaty commitments in East Asia; to support ASEAN and strengthen US ties to ASEAN countries; to protect the sea and air lanes in and around an area that occupies an important place in world trade; and to provide the logistic support for US forces in the Indian Ocean and Southwest Asia that help to maintain peace and stability and to protect vital interests of the US -- and of US allies -- in that important part of the world.

As President Marcos stated recently, all the countries in the region friendly to the US approve of US naval and air facilities in the Philippines, because they ensure the balance of power in Southeast Asia. A US military withdrawal would only benefit those who wish to fill the resultant power vacuum.

"Political Situation in the Philippines"

Both teams of negotiators were well aware of these benefits as we entered the recent review of our bases agreement. But security factors were not the only concerns on our agenda. Major military facilities, such as those we have in the Philippines, can only be effectively operated with the support of the host country's government and people. Maintaining needed support and warm relations between our countries, through due regard for Philippine sensitivities, was thus a major concern in our discussions on basing arrangements. Unfortunately, some criticism of the US military presence has been an ingredient of Philippine politics for many years. In gauging the extent of such opposition, however, it is worth noting that, despite the considerable public scrutiny recently focused on the bases, our continued role does not appear to have been a major matter of contention. We believe the support we have enjoyed through various Philippine governments since World War II will continue.

Given our long term security relationship with the Philippines, we also pay close attention to other domestic political developments, including human rights issues. The ending of martial law in 1981 brought with it some improvements in the civil liberties situation. However, progress has been uneven. In recent months the Marcos government has again introduced constraints. Controls on public assembly and the press have been eased, although at times controls on the press were reasserted. For example, the leading opposition newspaper was shut down, but another opposition newspaper recently started publishing. There is criticism of the government and of government policies in the media, but it is subdued. One respected moderate opposition leader, the mayor of a large city in Mindanao, has been jailed. On balance, however, it is fair to say that in some respects the situation is improved over 1978, when we last discussed our military presence with Philippine government....

The US, for its part, welcomes any efforts on the part of the government and concerned groups of Filipinos to address their problems through dialogue. We look toward the scheduled parliamentary elections in 1984, in which it is our expectation that all legitimate groups will have a fair chance to participate. These elections promise significant progress toward a more open political system. Meanwhile, we will continue to deal with human rights issues and problems in the Philippines through a policy of quiet dialogue with the government and extensive contact with a wide spectrum of Philippine society, including the legitimate opposition. This active policy is a fundamental part of our overall approach in the Philippines.

"The 1983 Military Bases Agreement Review

... At the conclusion of the review, President Reagan transmitted a letter to President Marcos conveying the pledge of the Executive Branch to make its best efforts to provide $900 million in security assistance during the five fiscal years beginning October 1, 1984. The figure of $900 million was reached after consideration of the Philippine Government's economic development needs, its defense modernization goals, our current assistance efforts in the Philippines, and the decline in the real purchasing power of our assistance levels since the time of the last base review in 1979. Subject to the authorization and appropriation of funds by the Congress, the intention of the Executive Branch is to provide more than half of the package, $475 million, in Economic Support Funds. We shall soon begin planning with the Philippine Government on ESF projects and programs. These will be submitted to the Congress for approval during the normal budgetary process. We expect that some of the funds will be used to improve the social and economic conditions of areas adjacent to the bases, while most of the funds will be used on a nationwide basis in support of Philippine economic development priorities.

The rest of the proposed five year security assistance is military: $125 million in MAP and $300 million in Foreign Military Sales Credit guarantees. This assistance would enable the Philippine military to begin to address seriously its modernization efforts, which in recent years have been affected adversely by Philippine Government budgetary constraints.... Although we have not discussed specific Philippine military needs in connection with this assistance package, we would expect it, on the basis of past practice, to be used to purchase aircraft, helicopters, ground vehicles, engineering equipment, surface vessels, communications equipment and other defense articles.

"To summarize, Mr. Chairman, the US-Philippine relationship has over the years benefited the Philippines, the entire Southeast Asian region, and -- by no means least -- ourselves. We can take great pride in the contributions we have made to the area, and the positive role we have played. I would hope that we will continue to be an active player in this important part of the world for a long time to come. That is also the wish of leaders and people of the Philippines and of the peace-loving countries of the entire region."
(from Paul Wolfowitz)

Further reflection on the national security necessity for the bases

"... Over the last several years the US presence in the Philippines has assumed heightened importance because of the dramatic Soviet buildup in the Pacific. The signing of the Soviet-Vietnamese Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation 4½ years ago, for example, let to a major expansion in the Soviet military presence in Southeast Asia. Soviet naval vessels are constantly present at Cam Ranh Bay and in addition Soviet Bear D reconnaissance aircraft operate continuously from Vietnam gathering intelligence over the South China Sea... The Soviet ability to project naval and air power will probably grow as a result of utilization of the base facilities at Danang and Cam Ranh Bay. The combination of an increased Soviet presence in the area and Vietnamese military activities is, of course, of concern to our friends in East Asia and no doubt underlies their interest in a continuation of the US presence in the Philippines."

"The military facilities at Clark Air Base, Subic Naval Base, and elsewhere in the Philippines provide US forces with a wide variety of important services which are essential to maintaining the following militalry capabilities in and adjacent to the region: a continuous air and naval presence in the Western Pacific (within 4 flying hours or 5 sea days to Japan, Guam, Singapore, and Korea) with the capability to project and support a US presence at Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean (within 8 flying hours or 8 sea days); air and naval capability to meet contingencies outside the Western Pacific, such as in the Persian Gulf, Arabian Sea, East African waters and the Middle East; a high state of readiness of US operational forces in the Pacific; one of the best protected, deep water harbors available in Southeast Asia; the largest, most efficient ship repair facility in the Pacific; land and sea-based tactical air assets (both fighter and airlift) support for all operating forces in the area, including communications, logistics, maintenance, training and personnel requirements; major war reserve material storage for a variety of contingencies". (from Richard Armitage)

THE FOLLOWING ARTICLE APPEARED IN THE ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH, Aug. 15, 1984
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Stop U.S. Aid To Marcos

By Supporting His Regime, America Risks Losing The Philippine Alliance

By David Reed and Odette Taverna

Last year, people around the world were shocked by the slaying of Sen. Benigno Aquino as he arrived in Manila after three years in exile. His murder laid bare for the whole world to see the repressive regime imposed on the Filipino people during the past 12 years.

Today, a full year after his death, President Marcos maintains his authoritarian rule despite the profound political and economic crisis enshrouding his regime and the country. To honor the democratic values the late senator stood for, we must ask why it is that this dictatorial rule still weighs over the Philippine nation. What is required to finally bring about a truly democratic society in this country?

The answers we offer to these questions are not popular, yet, if democracy is to be more than an empty phrase in the coming years, we must grapple with these issues at this timely historical juncture.

In the days following Aquino's death, millions of Filipinos from all walks of life and all sectors of society poured into the streets of Manila, not just to lay the slain leader to rest but to express their anger with the fear and repression that had marked their lives for over a decade. The spirit that united them was the desire to dismantle the dictatorial regime of Marcos and to restore a meaningful democracy. To Marcos' dismay, that outpouring of anger did not diminish in the weeks following the burial of his political rival. Instead, hundreds of newly formed organizations carried the demand and spirit of democracy to every small village and crowded slum in the country.

Marcos' predictable response was not of conciliation and democratization but of increased repression, growing violence and threats of new crackdowns against political activists. And as he continues to rely on greater force, the chasm between him and millions of Filipinos grows ever wider. In fact, the only social sector fully behind the dictator today is the military establishment, the very heart of the repressive regime.

This political crisis is compounded by the country's most acute economic crisis in decades. Since the first of the year, hundreds of factories have shut down and hundreds of thousands of workers have lost their jobs. With the foreign debt currently looming at $26 billion, even Marcos' most steadfast international creditors have turned a deaf ear to his requests for a massive financial bailout. Such economic relief will be forthcoming only if Marcos accepts draconian austerity measures and a further restructuring of the economy as proposed by the International Monetary Fund. However, recent revolts in the Dominican Republic following imposition of similar measures serve as a grim reminder that he dare not risk such unpopular measures at the present time. And as this impasse continues, the economy continues its downward slide.

This convergence of increasing political isolation and a deepening economic crisis is clearly disconcerting to the U.S. Since the Vietnam debacle, the strategic importance of the Philippines has been magnified because the two largest U.S. military bases outside the U.S. — Clark Air Base and Subic Naval Base — are located there. These bases play a pivotal role in U.S. global strategy. They project U.S. military power throughout Asia, into the Near East and as far away as East Africa. In addition, they are fully equipped to serve as the logistical hub for key rapid deployment of U.S. offensive power in the Indian Ocean and the Middle East.

U.S. foreign policy has, therefore, revolved around guaranteeing access to these bases. In fact, the Bases Agreement largely shapes all U.S. aid to that country. In this sense, regular increases in U.S. security assistance have been justified as a means of ensuring access to these bases. This policy has been pushed to its extreme under the Reagan administration, which defines foreign policy objectives by the one-dimensional criterion of fighting communism. Because of Marcos' willingness to take a hard line in fighting the insurgency of the New People's Army, Mr. Reagan has not wavered in his support for the repressive and thoroughly unpopular regime.

This primitive logic ignores the fact that the military apparatus has been turned on the rural and urban poor as they seek the most minimal standards of economic and social justice. The Reagan policy conveniently overlooks the growing human rights abuses, creation of a secret police force, and the torture and slayings of thousands of Filipinos who expressed opposition to Marcos. And it is the Reagan policy that is now the main obstacle between the Filipino people and the true democracy they are seeking.

While it is true that the Reagan view is the dominant force in shaping U.S. foreign policy, it is not the only voice being expressed at this time. There is a growing call for a reversal of this policy and a strong push toward democratization of the country. Among the demands are: the repeal of Marcos' power to legislate by decree; a repeal of preventive detention powers; and the dismantling of the economic empires of Mr. Marcos' cronies.

Such measures, however, are not sufficient to dismantle the dictatorship and usher in a new period of political democracy. We are convinced that only an immediate termination of U.S. aid will provide the political leverage needed to set in motion a real democratization of all aspects of Philippine society.

The past years are a continuing saga of the inability of Marcos' corrupt administration to direct U.S. aid to the benefit the millions of poor Filipinos or to lead the country out of its present political and economic morass.

The U.S. must make a dramatic, unequivocable break with Mr. Marcos or face, in the near future, a populace increasingly hostile to any U.S. presence in the Philippines.

Although we may not be comfortable with the analogy, what was initially called a social polarization in Vietnam was actually the beginning of that country's civil war, which pitted a corrupt regime, supported by the United States, against millions of urban and rural poor Vietnamese. Today, one year after the assassination of Sen. Aquino, both the Philippines and the U.S. are at a crossroads of history. It remains to be seen whether the U.S. government has learned any lessons from the foreign policy debacle in the same region of the world just over a decade ago.

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NICARAGUA CASE STUDY

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A CASE STUDY ON NICARAGUA
TEACHER DIRECTIONS

This unit is designed primarily for junior and senior high and college students but parts of it, particularly the "Amigos de Los Ninos" slide/tape presentation and the children's solidarity projects (Part IVC), can be used with elementary students. The unit can be taught in several different ways:

1. You could use it as a summary application of the first four units in this Volume -- as a case study of "World Hunger" ("food and hunger" section), of "Global Poverty and Development" ("trade and coffee" section; "Nicaraguan model of development" section), of "Global Interdependence" ("pairing" and other solidarity projects in section IV), of "US Foreign Policy" ("US policy" section), and then as a lead-in to the unit on "US-USSR Relations" because of the efforts of the US government to brand Nicaragua as "communist" and to see in Nicaragua and Central America as a whole the struggle between the US and the forces of freedom and the USSR and the forces of communism.

2. You could study each of the various sections of this unit with the previous units with which they correspond, as a mini-case study or application of that particular unit. In doing sok it would probably be best to do "First Impressions" and the whole of Part I with the unit on "Global Poverty and Development".

. You could use this unit before doing some or all of the first four units, as a concrete introduction to each of those themes and thus as a way of interesting students in the more general themes. One reason for using this unit early in a course on global issues is section III, "Whom Do You Believe?", in which are presented criteria for determining how to decide whom to believe on an issue where there are so many conflicting opinions. This is a key question that should be dealt with early in any course on social or controversial issues.

This unit provides both factual and personal sketches -- personal sketches to make the facts concrete and to touch students' hearts. The factual sketches of the food/hunger and education issues in Part II call for more research. We suggest that students do some kind of research project on various aspects of Nicaraguan life. These aspects could be the various issues/areas identified in the "comparative models" chart in Part III. That way, when you study the Nicaraguan model of development in comparison with other models, students will be able to provide the data necessary for the comparisons.

Finally, this unit has a strong action component (section IV) and is designed to lead to both individual and group (possibly class or school) action. Because most of the various action suggestions are presented in greater detail in James McGinnis' SOLIDARITY WITH THE PEOPLE OF NICARAGUA book (Orbis Books, 1985), we highly recommend at least the teacher getting a copy of it from the Institute. Secondly, we suggest contacting the Institute and/or the individual organizations or campaigns described in Part IV to find out the current status of the various projects/campaigns.

SPECIAL RESOURCES

Bibliographies

-- Both the North American Congress on Latin America (NACLA) and the National Network in Solidarity with the People of Nicaragua (2025 I St. NW, Washington, DC 20009) have extensive bibliographies.

For teacher and older student background reading

-- Berryman, Phillip, WHAT'S WRONG IN CENTRAL AMERICA AND WHAT TO DO ABOUT IT(American Friends Service Committee, 1984) is an excellent short (60-page) analysis of US policy in Central America; his section on Nicaragua is summarized in the August 1984 issue of SOJOURNERS Magazine.

-- Collins, Joseph. WHAT DIFFERENCE COULD A REVOLUTION MAKE: FOOD AND FARMING IN THE NEW NICARAGUA (Institute for Food and Development POLICY, 1885 Mission St., San Francisco, CA 94103, 1985) is the best study of Nicaraguan agriculture policy available, with a personal dimension as well.

-- Lappe, Frances Moore. NOW WE CAN SPEAK: A JOURNEY THROUGH THE NEW NICARAGUA (Institute for Food and Development Policy, 1982) brings the various dimensions of the new Nicaragua alive through interviews with a variety of Nicaraguans creating their new society.

-- Randall, Margaret. SANDINO'S DAUGHTERS (New Star Books, Vancouver and Toronto; from the Crossing Press, Trumansberg, NY 14886; 1981) describes the women who played key roles in the Nicaraguan revolution, many of whom hold key positions in the Nicaraguan government today.

-- Rosset, Peter, and Vandermeer, John, THE NICARAGUAN READER: DOCUMENTS OF A REVOLUTION UNDER FIRE (Grove Press, 1983; 360 pages) is a comprehensive collection of articles, essays and policy statements from US and Nicaraguan officials and observers, with sections on "the Nicaraguan threat" and US intervention as well as on various dimensions of life in the new Nicaragua.

Audio-Visuals

-- FROM THE ASHES ... NICARAGUA TODAY is a 60-minute 16mm 1983 production (also available in two 30-minute parts for classroom screening and 3/4-in. video; from Document Associates, 211 E. 43rd St., New York, NY 10017; 212-682-0730) depicting the history of the revolution, its impact on one family, various aspects of the present reality, and US policy/actions to overthrow the government; probably the best overall AV.

-- Media Network (288 W. 13th St., New York, NY 10011) publishes a comprehensive guide to films on Central America including information on ordering, a guide to equipment, a list of distributors, descriptions and reviews of films and tips on how to use them effectively; $2.50. Icarus Films (200 Park Ave. South, New York, NY 10003) has a Central America film library that includes such films on Nicaragua as THANK GOD AND THE REVOLUTION; SANDINO, TODAY AND FOREVER; DAWN OF THE PEOPLE: THE NICARAGUAN LITERACY CRUSADE). In terms of specific projects described in this case study, AV illustrations include:

-- AMIGOS DE LOS NINOS is a 1984 12-minute 70-frame slide/tape presentation on the children of Nicaragua, on how North American children can respond to their situation, and on the "Playgrounds Not Battlegrounds" project in particular. From the Institute for Peace and Justice for a $48 purchase or a $20 rental.

-- WORLD HUNGER: THE COST OF COFFEE is a 1980 15-minute filmstrip telling the story of coffee -- the workers, the colonial patterns and mechanisms governing the production/distribution of coffee, and how North Americans can relate to these realities. Purchase from Franciscan Communications (1229 S. Santee, Los Angeles, CA 90015) for $38; rental from Visions, 506 E. Yandell, El Paso, TX 79902 for postage only.

-- PARAISO is a 30-minute 16mm film from Maryknoll Films (Maryknoll, NY 10545) describing current Foreign Minister, Fr. Miguel d' Escoto's community of Fundeci in Leon in the mid-1970s(where some of the playgrounds are now being built); excellent for a view of Nicaragua before 1979 from both the perspectives of the wealthy and the poor and what poverty can do to people.

-- NICARAGUA: WHERE EVERYBODY'S LEARNING is a 1983 15-minute slide/tape presentation from the American Friends Service Committee (above) recounting the personal experience of a school teacher who worked in Nicaragua and the school supplies project. Purchase: $25; rental: $10.

-- PATRIA LIBRE O MORIR is a 1982 20-minute 120-frame slide/tape presentation describing the Nicaraguan model of development and specific ways to support peace and justice for Nicaragua, including the "pairing" projects (see Chapters 3 & 4); from the Institute for Peace and Justice; for purchase ($65) or rental ($20). Individual slides of each of the Nicaraguan "pairing" groups are also available.

For student reading

-- TALKING SENSE ABOUT NICARAGUA is a 14-page pamphlet from the American Friends Service Committee (above), providing an overall assessment of the Nicaraguan revolution and current controversies and US policy; 25¢ each; $15/100.

-- SOJOURNERS magazine (March 1983) is devoted entirely to Nicaragua and presents personal reflection/accounts by Nicaraguan leaders; good articles on both the Church-State tension and the Miskito Indians issue.

For regular updating

-- ENVIO is a monthly in-depth analysis of current events and issues pertaining to Nicaragua edited by an international team of analysts at the independent research organization, the Instituto Historico Centroamerica (Apartado A-194, Managua, Nicaragua); subscribe for $25/year from the Central American Historical Institute at the Intercultural Center, Georgetown University, Washington, DC 20057.

I. GETTING SOME BACKGROUND

A. First Impressions

Because there are so many conflicting accounts and different opinions about Nicaragua, because it is important to know where your students are in their knowledge and opinions about a subject as you begin the study, and because it is important for students to know that "where they are" on any subject is OK it would be good to do one or all of the following activities.

1. Word association

Ask students: what do you immediately think of when you hear the word "Nicaragua"? Answers probably will include: "communist", "poverty", "war", "revolution", "Somoza", "Cuba".

2. "What have you heard?"

Ask students to identify statements or judgements about Nicaragua that they have heard or read in the past year. These might be written on newsprint and posted in the room, so that their accuracy can be checked during and/or after this case study. More systematic approaches could include their collecting articles on Nicaragua and/or conducting a survey on Nicaragua that might include open-ended questions like "What do you think about Nicaragua?" "About US policy toward Nicaragua?"

3. "What do you know"

Ask students to answer the following questions and add your own if you wish:

-- Where is Nicaragua located? (see if they can draw a map of North, Central, and South America and locate Nicaragua, before showing them a map).

-- How big is Nicaragua? What states in the US would it be similar to in size? (answer: Iowa, Wisconsin, Arkansas).

-- Use the following data as the basis for further comparisons between Nicaragua and the US:

	NICARAGUA	US
Land area	57,000 sq. mi(size of Iowa)	3.6 million sq. mi (63 times larger)
Population	3.1 million(metro Boston)	245 million (90 times larger)
GNP	$2.2 billion	$3.6 trillion (1600 times larger)
Median age	15 years of age	30 years of age
Religion	90% Roman Catholic; 10% Protestant/Evangelical	
Chief Products	cotton, coffee, beef, sugar, bananas, tobacco	
Miles of railroad	235 miles; miles of paved road-approx. 1000 miles	

-- See the basic data comparing Nicaragua with other Central American countries on the map of Central America on p. 92 above.

-- See the "Participatory History" section below to see how much your students know about Nicaraguan history.

4. "Why do you think?"

Given the vast difference in size, population, wealth, etc., between the US and Nicaragua, ask students why they think the US government is so opposed to Nicaragua and is supporting the counterrevolutionaries or "contras" who are trying to terrorize the Nicaraguan people, sabotage the Nicaraguan economy and overthrow the Nicaraguan government. You might have them compare their answers with the article by Patrick Buchanan in Part III below. His article reflects the prevailing thinking in the Reagan administration. The students' opinions on this question might also be written on newsprint, posted, and then checked later in the case study to see if any changes in their thinking has taken place.

B. A "Participatory History" of Nicaragua

1. Introduction:

While students will probably not know many of the answers represented by the blanks in the historical sketch, particularly about pre-1979 Nicaraguan history, presenting a historical sketch of Nicaragua in this way is more engaging for students and the final questions/elements call for a variety of responses. A more detailed historical outline, from which several of these items were taken, is presented in Joseph Collins, WHAT DIFFERENCE COULD A REVOLUTION MAKE?. Feel free to shorten or extend this historical sketch and provide your own "blanks" for student completion. This activity is also presented as a puppet skit as part of a "family night" on Nicaragua in PARTNERS IN PEACEMAKING: FAMILY WORKSHOP MODELS GUIDEBOOK FOR LEADERS (Institute for Peace and Justice, 1984). The more important incidents are "starred".

2. Historical Sketch

-- In 1847-48, there was a big discovery in California. It was ____________(gold). Soon people from Boston and New York and other places far away wanted to come and get some gold. How did they get to California? Show me on the map (someone traces the ship route around the tip of South America).

-- Because it took so long that way, people began looking for a shorter route. Some people found a shortcut. It was where?(across Lake Nicaragua).

-- Travel across Nicaragua became controlled by a company located in ____________ (the US). Does anyone know who owned that company?(Cornelius Vanderbilt).

-- In 1850, the United States and Great Britain signed Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, which declares that both nations shall share rights to a trans-Nicaragua Canal. The Nicaraguan government was not consulted.

-- Five years later, in 1855, a man named ______________(William Walker) and fifty-eight other American adventurers arrived in Nicaragua, having been given free passage on Vanderbilt's ships. Walker declared himself ______________(president of Nicaragua). But two years later, in 1857, Walker was defeated by a combined Central American force which feared he would try to impose his rule throughout the area.

* -- Fifty years later, in 1909, President Zalaya of Nicaragua resigned because of US anger over his cancelling US concession in Nicaragua, his borrowing

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money from Great Britain, and his apparent favoring of Great Britain or Japan for rights to build a canal across Nicaragua.

-- There was a lot of turmoil in Nicaragua, so three years later the US government sent __________(marines) to Nicaragua to end the turmoil.

-- Two years later, the Nicaraguan government decided to __________(sign a treaty giving exclusive rights to a canal) to ____________(the US).

*-- In 1927, after fifteen years of occupation by US marines, a resistance movement began. It was led by __________(August Cesar Sandino). The fighting lasted six years. In the end, what happened?(The marines left) Because _______________(they were not able to defeat Sandino), pressure from the US Congress was growing, they were able to get the Nicaraguan government to agree to setting up a ______________(National Guard) to take their place. The person named to be the head of this National Guard was ________________(Anastasio Somoza).

*-- A year later, in 1934, Sandino came to peace talks with the new Nicaraguan government. After the meeting, something happened, _________________(Somoza had Sandino killed). Two years later, Nicaragua had a new president. It was __________________(Somoza).

*-- The Somoza family ruled Nicaragua for the next forty-three years and became one of the worst dictatorships in the history of Latin America.

*-- But the people of Nicaragua began to revolt. In 1961, a group of people founded the ______________(FSLN - Frente Sandinista de Liberacion Nacional or Sandinistas). They fought against Somoza's National Guard as they worked to organize the peasants throughout the mountains and countryside of the western half of Nicaragua.

-- In 1972, a natural disaster hit Nicaragua. It was ______________(an earthquake). The US government sent _________________($77 million) to help Nicaragua, but what happened to the money?(Somoza pocketed most of it, making even the Nicaraguan business community angry).

-- FSLN resistance continues to grow, and is more openly supported by the business community, the churches, the press, and other leaders in 1978 after ______________(the assassination of Pedro Joaquin Chamorro, editor of the opposition paper La Prensa). In August, 1978, the FSLN seized the National Palace, taking many congresspersons hostage and exchanged them for ransom, freedom of political prisoners, and safe conduct to Panama.

*-- During these years of civil war, the US government ____________(continued to send weapons to Somoza).

*-- Finally, on July 19, 1979, ____________(the Sandinistas and the people of Nicaragua triumphed). Somoza___________(flew to Miami with the entire national treasury, leaving only $1.5 million behind).

*-- Immediately, the new government began to ____________(rebuild schools, set up national health campaigns and open clinics, give Somoza's lands especially to peasant cooperatives, set up a national literacy campaign, etc.).

-- President Carter and Secretary of State Vance asked the US Congress to __________(send $75 million in aid) because __________________(they did not want to push Nicaragua into the Russian bloc as Cuba had been pushed earlier).

* -- When Ronald Reagan became president, he decided to ________________(cancel all US aid to Nicaragua and instead send covert aid to Somoza's ex-National Guardsmen beginning to operate across the border in Honduras).

-- In the spring of 1982, another natural disaster hit Nicaragua. It was a _______________(flood). It caused twice as much damage to Nicaragua as the 1972 earthquake did(about $350 million). The US government's response was ________________($35,000 check from the US ambassador).

*-- In 1983, President Reagan__________________(increased aid to the counterrevolutionaries, authorized war games involving 20,000 US troops and 40 US warships in the area, built bases in Honduras).

*-- In 1983, people who disagreed with the US policy toward Nicaragua began to ___________________.(See action examples below).

C. Meeting Some Nicaraguans

To make concrete some of the history of Nicaragua and especially to give students a feel for the people of Nicaragua and to open their hearts as well as their minds to this study and people, it would be good to introduce students to some specific Nicaraguan people. This could be done in several ways: audio-visuals, books, speakers.

1. Audio-Visuals

-- show the 4-minute slide/tape AN APPEAL FROM NICARAGUANS (from a series entitled Five Reflective Readings from the Institute for Peace and Justice). This AV is a series of excerpts from interviews with Nicaraguan youth and adults speaking of their participation in the reconstruction of Nicaragua and comparing their lives before and after the revolution; high school and adults.

-- show the 10-minute slide/tape presentation AMIGOS DE LOS NINOS on the children of Nicaragua (see below); for elementary and junior high.

2. Books

For older students and adults, Frances Moore Lappe's NOW WE CAN SPEAK presents different aspects of life in Nicaragua through a series of interviews with specific Nicaraguans and is an excellent way to both meet the people and learn about the Nicaraguan model of development. The accounts in SOLIDARITY WITH THE PEOPLE OF NICARAGUA of the specific Nicaraguan groups seeking a pairing relationship with their North American counterparts (see Part IV below) are another way to meet specific Nicaraguans.

3. Speakers

Inviting one or more Nicaraguans to speak to your class is an even more personal approach, but requires you to know whom it is you are inviting. You may want to have several persons come, one who is supportive of what the Nicaraguan government is doing and one who is opposed. But this might best come toward the end of this unit after the students have done their own research.

II. RESEARCH THE PRESENT

A. Some Comparisons Before and After the Revolution

1. Introduction

Some initial comparisons were provided by the AN APPEAL FROM NICARAGUANS slide/tape presentation. These comparisons are here elaborated in two areas: food and education. Food and education were chosen as examples of how life has changed in Nicaragua since and because of the revolution for several reasons. Food/hunger provides a concrete illustration of the "Hunger" unit above and thus some continuity of study and is an issue that students can more easily understand and relate to. Education is also something students relate to and the literacy campaign focus below presents to First World students the lives of their counterparts in Nicaragua. The brief accounts of the "brigadistas", as these Nicaraguan student volunteers were called, are not only inspirational but allow for a discussion of the role of youth in the Nicaraguan revolution. Some health care data is provided as part of the food and education comparisons and is another area that students can understand more easily, and medical aid is one of the specific action possibilities presented in Part IV below.

2. Food and hunger

-- Duplicate for junior and senior high students the reading "The Life of a Rural 17 year Old Before the Revolution" and have them share their reactions; you might compare it to the description of young coffee workers in El Salvador and Guatemala in the "Case Study on General Foods and El Salvador", pp. 85-86.

-- Then duplicate the excerpts from "Land and Hunger: Nicaragua" and have students share their reactions and identify specific changes that have occurred since the revolution, according to John Olinger, the author of that Bread for the World Background Paper #71. These excerpts summarize the finding of Joseph Collins in his excellent study of Nicaraguan food and agricultural policy, WHAT DIFFERENCE COULD A REVOLUTION MAKE? FOOD AND FARMING IN THE NEW NICARAGUA, from which the first reading is also taken.

3. Education and Health Care

Statistics like the following indicate real changes, that a revolution can make a difference, but they do not tell the real story which is far more personal. Thus, after having students study the following chart providing education and health care comparisons a year before and five years after the revolution, ask them to identify how they think the changes noted in the illiteracy rate/and in vaccinations on the chart on the next page took place (a major reason was the incredibly large number of volunteers who participated in the national literacy and health care/ vaccination campaigns, many of whom were high school students). Then present the Literacy Campaign as a special example of teenage capabilities and commitment, using the steps outlined on the next page.

EDUCATION AND OTHER SOCIAL INDICATORS

	1978	1984
Illiteracy rate	50%	13%
Education Expenditures (millions of cordobas)	341	1,484
Percentage of GNP for education	1.32	5.01
Total students	501,660	1,127,428
Adult education enrollment	none	194,800
Preschool enrollment	9,000	70,000
Teachers	12,706	53,398
Infant mortality	121 per 1,000 births	74 per 1,000 births
Vaccinations	923,000#	3,304,000**
Health Budget (millions of cordobas)	373	1,528**
Physicians	1,309#	2,087**
Clinics	177#	463**
Hospitals	40	46

(reprinted from WHAT DIFFERENCE COULD A REVOLUTION MAKE? with permission of the Institute for Food and Development Policy) #1977, **1983 figures

THE LITERACY CAMPAIGN -- WHAT TEENAGERS CAN DO FOR THEIR COUNTRY

1. Show DAWN OF THE PEOPLE, a 25-minute 1983 16mm film on Nicaragua's literacy campaign (from Green Valley Films, 300 Maple St., Burlington, VT 05401; 802-862-4929) that features 13-year old and 14-year old brigadistas and their adult students, as well as providing important background on the country and revolution as a whole.

2. Have students read the 5-page selection from the Council on Interracial Books for Children's special 1981 issue entitled "Education For Change: A Report on the Nicaraguan Literacy Crusade", reprinted below with permission of the Council. The entire issue would be valuable background reading.

3. Have students discuss the following questions:

-- What do you think of the idea of young people living and working in places that are very different than their usual environment? How would you feel about doing that?

-- In what ways do Nicaraguan young people seem different than young people in the United States? Are they similar in some ways?

-- If you were writing a literacy workbook for America, what topics would you include?

-- Try to write some sentences that describe important aspects of American society. Then pick out a key word in the sentences. What are some social and political implications of these words and sentences?

-- If a Literacy Crusade like Nicaragua's was tried in this country, what do you think would happen? Do you think such a campaign could succeed in a place that had not experienced a revolution?

-- What is the Nicaraguan concept of Democracy? What do you think of it? How does it compare with what goes on here?

4. "Generating Words"

The following words were used during the Literacy Crusade in sentences that helped people learn to read. Have students try to define them for themselves. Have them consider what these words tell them about Nicaragua and the values of the revolution.

Liberation
Sandinista
National Guard
Illiteracy
Dialogue
Brigadista

Insurrection
Somoza
Participation
Land
Campesino
Armed Struggle

Social Wage
Popular Power
Non-alignment
Counter-revolution
Dignity
Liberation

Democracy
Church
Unity
Integration
Reconstruction
Work

(this activity is used with permission of Robin Lloyd and Green Valley Films and the authors of an excellent 24-page STUDY GUIDE for the DAWN OF THE PEOPLE film; $2.00).

B. Trade and Coffee

As a specific example of the inequities of trade between the First World and the Third World that are presented in the unit on "Global Poverty and Development" above, the study of Nicaraguan coffee has a lot to offer. The following account includes a personal dimension as well as a factual dimension, in order to touch students' hearts as well as to further concretize their study. This account is excerpted from a chapter in SOLIDARITY WITH THE PEOPLE OF NICARAGUA and is based on the research of the Friends of the Third World for their Nicaraguan coffee project (see Part IV below) and on articles in BARRICADA INTERNATIONAL, the weekly international edition of a Nicaraguan daily newspaper.

1. Coffee in general

As a commodity in world trade, coffee is second only to oil in terms of the dollar amount traded each year. Nicaragua is one of the more than forty Third World countries that significantly depends on coffee exports for their foreign exchange. In the 1981-82 season, nearly 100 million bags of coffee were produced. That's 13 billion pounds of coffee picked, with 78% of it going to fill the cups of First World consumers. More than 20 million people earn their livelihood from coffee, most of them farmers and agricultural workers in the Third World whose standard of living depends on the price of coffee. A drop of only 1¢ in the price of raw coffee means a loss of some $65 million for the coffee-producing countries.

Relative to the price of manufactured goods and to oil, items that most Third World countries including Nicaragua have to import and pay for with their coffee exports, the price or purchasing power of coffee has decreased significantly. For instance, the price of a jeep in 1955 was 124 sacks of coffee. Two decades later, a jeep cost 344 sacks of coffee. In 1977, one tractor costs 4.4 tons of coffee, but had jumped to 11.2 tons of coffee by 1981. In 1970, one bag of coffee paid for 100 barrels of oil, but in 1981, one bag of coffee paid for only 3 barrels.

2. Nicaraguan coffee

While Nicaragua is devoting more of its resources to boost local food production, as seen above, and is trying to diversify its export economy to be less dependent on its coffee and cotton exports, this process takes time. In 1984, coffee still accounted for 35% of Nicaragua's export income. And the dollars which Nicaragua earns for selling its coffee are essential in combatting the economic and military campaigns being waged against Nicaragua. Hospital beds, tractor parts and medical supplies are all urgently needed and can often only be acquired with dollars earned from exports. At present, Nicaraguan coffee is exported through the government coffee agency, ENCAFE, which also manages all of the ex-Somoza (the former dictator) owned coffee plantations. The privately owned farms continue to be run by private owners who are taxed 60% of the net profits by the government and are required to provide each worker with certain standards of welfare, wages, and education. ENCAFE also guarantees a consistent price to the farmer for the coffee, something that the large coffee-processing corporations did not do.

The harvesting of Nicaraguan coffee is the work of thousands of people. In addition to the regular coffee workers, many of whom now also own individually or cooperatively (or rent more cheaply) land of their own to grow food for their own consumption, there are thousands of volunteers. This has especially been necessary since 1982 when the US-financed war against Nicaragua escalated and thus required many coffee workers to serve with the popular militia. The 1982-83 coffee harvest set a record but only because of volunteers.

Duplicate the "Record Coffee Harvest" accounts of the harvest, taken from the February 14, 1983 issue of BARRICADA INTERNATIONAL and have them discuss particularly the personal reflections of Isabel Sirias.

3. Responses

a. Recall for students from the "AMIGOS DE LOS NINOS" slide show (or tell them if you have not used it yet) the frames that mentioned how high school volunteers in Jalapa spent their 2-week Christmas vacation harvesting coffee and have them consider questions like the following:

-- What do you think motivated these students (or Isabel Sirias) to do what they did?

-- If you were a high school student in Nicaragua, would you volunteer? Why or why not?

b. To make sure that students understand the bind that Third World countries like Nicaragua are in because of the inequities of the terms of trade and their subsequent spiraling debts and what needs to be done, ask them questions like the following:

-- Why does Nicaragua have to continue to use so much of its land for coffee (and other exports?)

-- What could be done to make the terms of trade fairer and take the pressure off Nicaragua to export raw coffee? (answers could include better prices for coffee, the development of processing plants to process the raw coffee and reap the higher profits that come from selling processed products vs. raw materials, the development of processing operations in general, so as benefit from their higher profits)

c. How can we help? See if students are able to generate any action possibilities at this point, though you might want to reserve any lengthy discussion of them until Part IV below. Possible responses might include:

-- Write to the President/Congress about the price of raw coffee and urge them to instruct the US representative to the International Coffee Agreement to support higher prices for raw coffee;

-- Buy Nicaraguan coffee and urge others to do so (see below);

-- Set aside savings from any simplifying of one's life-style efforts (e.g., drinking less soda, or perhaps even less coffee!) and send it to Friends of the Third World for their fund to help finance coffee processing plants in Nicaragua;

-- Buy Nicaraguan handicrafts as a way of increasing their foreign exchange;

-- Correspond with a Nicaraguan student or student group and encourage them in their voluntary efforts;

-- Write the President/Congress urging them to cut off support for the "contras" for many reasons, including the tremendous strain the war places on the Nicaraguan economy (which necessitates coffee exports to pay for imported oil, weapons, food -- the "contras" attack co-ops and destroy food crops).

III. MAKING JUDGEMENTS

A. Introduction

Before deciding whether and how to act in relationship to any peace and justice issue, especially one like Nicaragua, it is important to evaluate the issue and formulate one's own opinion/stance. With so many conflicting opinions, a critical preliminary step is deciding whom you are going to believe. Thus, this section offers the opportunity to consider this question in a mini case study format, before asking students to research and evaluate the Nicaraguan model of development. FInally, this section presents a point-counterpoint analysis of US policy toward Nicaragua as essential background for determining one's political action response to this case study.

B. Whom Do You Believe?

Like all other peace and justice issues, there are a variety of opinions about Nicaragua, conflicting accounts of events, different analyses of US policy. What is the "truth"? Since most persons are not able to go to Nicaragua themselves or do all their own firsthand research, the question"whom do you believe"? becomes crucial. Even in doing firsthand research, like interviewing various Nicaraguans about the revolution, there is the same question -- how do I decide whose story, facts or analysis is "true" or "how much truth" does a particular article/opinion contain?

1. Comparison of opinions

Duplicate the following accounts and interpretations of the same events -- a series of indidents involving members of the Roman Catholic Church in Nicaragua, supporters of the Nicaraguan government, the government itself, the Nicaraguan press, and two different human rights groups. (The specific incidents are just several in an on-going conflict between members of the Roman Catholic hierarchy and the Nicaraguan government, a serious conflict that escalated in 1983 as a result of the visit to Nicaragua of Pope John Paul II and in 1984 with the publication of a pastoral letter by the hierarchy calling on the Nicaraguan government to reconcile itself with "contras" and once again characterizing the Nicaraguan governments as essentially atheistic and Communist). Have students analyze the conflicting accounts by identifying the specific differences in the accounts -- perhaps write on the board or newsprint each point on which there is a difference of opinion, followed by the different opinions on that point.

2. Deciding whom to believe:

Before suggesting the following questions or criteria for deciding whom to believe, you might ask students for their own thoughts. If they do not mention the following, then you can add them to the list:

-- Who are the authors and what are their sources?
(in this mini case study, Patrick Buchanan is a newspaper columnist and former speech-writer for Richard Nixon; he briefly describes his sources in his article; James McGinnis is director of the Institute for Peace and Justice and has visited Nicaragua twice since 1982; his sources are identified in his version)

-- What is their credibility (which of them is likely to be more knowledgeable, have less to gain personally, is more "independent" of political/economic pressures, has a better record for accurate reporting, etc.)?

-- How "objective" are the accounts? While this is a difficult question to answer without having witnessed the events, some clues are provided in the kind of language used ("loaded words"), by supporting or the lack of supporting accounts (research other opinions about these events).

-- Which opinion would people you trust support? Often we are unable to answer sufficiently the questions above and have to rely on sources we personally know and have come to respect. How would they evaluate these conflicting accounts and what criteria would they use in their decision? You might have students share the accounts with such persons and solicit their opinions.

C. The Nicaraguan Model of Development

1. Inductive Methodology

Using the four components of justice (see the schema in "Comparative Models of Development"), brainstorm with the students what elements would fall under each of the components. Then have them give evidence and/or raise questions about how Nicaragua is dealing with that element. These would be initial impressions which then would be assigned as research themes, one or several students per theme/question. The presentations of the students' findings would enable the whole class to make judgments on the Nicaraguan model of development as a whole. To stimulate their response to these initial questions, you might show the first part of the "PATRIA LIBRE O MORIR" slide presentation, because it analyzes the Nicaraguan model of development according to these four components of justice. However, because it does make judgments about the Nicaraguan model which might prejudice the students' own future judgments, you should mention this and ask them to suspend their judgments for the present and concentrate on the elements and questions that the slide presentation introduces.

2. A schematic glance at the Nicaraguan model follows on the next page.

3. Comparison with other Central American countries

As part of evaluating the Nicaraguan model, see the comparative data on the map of Central America on p. 92 above. Have students identify ways in which Nicaragua has surpassed its Central American neighbors and ways it has not and some possible reasons for the differences.

2. A schematic glance at the Nicaraguan model

Components of Justice	Elements to be Considered	Issues/Questions to be Addressed
SUFFICIENT LIFE-GOODS	Food Health Care Housing Education Jobs/wages	-How are these distributed? -Are they getting to people most in need?- -Aren't the people still as poor as they were under Somoza?
DIGNITY/ ESTEEM	Education/literacy Respect for cultural diversity Role of women Jail system Art/culture Outside influence/ control	-What about the Miskito Indians? -What kinds of leadership roles are available? -How are prisoners treated? -Is there torture? -For the poor as well as the well-off? -What about all those Cubans and Russians? Isn't Nicaragua just another Cuba?
PARTICIPATION	Elections	-To what extent do people choose their political leadership, nationally & locally?
	"Free enterprise"	-Is there respect for private property and initiative or does the government control business, land, etc.
	Unions	-How free are workers to join different unions and do workers have real power within their unions?
	Shared decision-making in work-places, block & neighborhood organizations	-Are the CDSs (block committees) really participatory decision-making groups or ways of spying on one's neighbors?
	Freedom of press/ assembly	-What about charges of press censorship?
	Freedom of religion	-What about charges of religious persecution?
	Freedom of dissent	-What about charges of human rights violations?
INTERDEPENDENCE	Cooperatives	-How widespread are these? -What about "state farms" on which people are forced to work, as in Russia?
	Volunteer work	-Do people freely participate? How many?
	Regional cooperation	-Is Nicaragua threatening the peace of other Central American countries?
	International cooperation	-Is Nicaragua another Russian "puppet" at the UN? -How"non-aligned" is it really?

D. US Policy Toward Nicaragua

1. Introduction

US policy toward Nicaragua is a good example of the conflict between principles -- the rhetoric or reality of concern for human rights and self-determination -- and power -- concern over the geopolitical struggle with USSR, particularly in "our own backyard". If student research even partially confirmed the generally positive judgments about the Nicaraguan model of development presented in the PATRIA LIBRE O MORIR slide presentation, it will be difficult for many students to understand why the Reagan Administration has been so hostile to Nicaragua. Recall the opinions expressed at the beginning of this case study (in the "Why Do You Think?" activity).

2. Point-Counterpoint Presentation of US Policy

Have students read the "US and Nicaragua -- April 1982" statement from the US Department of State. Ask them as they read the document to note points they tend to agree with and points they tend to disagree with. Then have them read "My Response to the US and Nicaragua Statement". Then, using the criteria/questions identified in section "A" above, ask the students to decide which of the two positions they tend to believe and why. After soliciting their judgments, share the following information and ask them if it alters their judgment in any way -- "The day we received four copies (from a stack several inches high) of the State Department's "US and Nicaragua" document, we shared it with a friend who had it translated into Spanish. this Spanish version appeared in the newspaper El Nuevo Diario the following day, to which the US Embassy in Managua replied that it was a fabrication of the newspaper. That same day, a Maryknoll lay missioner in Nicaragua visited the US Embassy and met with the same director of public affairs who had given us the document. When she asked for a copy of the document, he denied its existence. Two months later he no longer worked at the US Embassy." (From Jim McGinnis)

3. Judgments about US Policy

-- Ask students to name what they consider to be the US national interests behind US policy toward Nicaragua.

-- If you have already done the unit on "US Foreign Policy", have them compare the specific national interests embodied in the Nicaraguan case study with the general statement of US national interests in Part II of that unit.

-- Ask students whether they agree or disagree with US policy toward Nicaragua and why.

-- If they disagree, ask them to identify specific ways in which they can work to change US policy. If they agree with US policy, ask them to identify specific ways they can work to support that policy. See Part IV below for some suggestions for action.

IV. Taking Action

A. Introduction

It is particularly here that the SOLIDARITY WITH THE PEOPLE OF NICARAGUA book is a helpful supplement, for each of the action possibilities summarized here is presented at length in that book. While there are many additional action possibilities described in SOLIDARITY WITH THE PEOPLE OF NICARAGUA, some of which high school and college students as well as adults could also relate to, we will consider six possibilities in this section.

B. Political Action

-- The Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy has regular written updates on US Congressional action on Nicaragua and a Central America Hotline (202-483-3391) that updates its recorded legislative message every few days.

-- Witness for Peace in Nicaragua (P.O. Box 29272, Washington, DC 20017; 202-636-3642) can provide updated information on nonviolent direct action campaigns in the US focusing on US policy.

-- The National Network of Solidarity with the Nicaraguan People can provide the name of the nearest local Nicaraguan or Central American support group with whom you should be in contact for local political action and public education opportunities.

-- The Central America Peace Campaign (318 4th St. NE, Washington, DC 20017; 202-543-0873) is a coalition effort to promote an alternative US policy for Central America as a whole, with comprehensive legislation being introduced into the US Congress in early 1985.

C. Children's Solidarity Projects

1. "Playgrounds Not Battlegrounds"

This project developed from an initial $4,000 collected from children in North America at Christmas 1983 to build three "Solidarity Parks" for children in the three refugee camps near Jalapa in northern Nicaragua where a US group called Witness for Peace was visiting and working with the Nicaraguan people. The spirit behind the project was expressed in the following statement that accompanied the gift:

> "Always we were touched by the children - their beauty, innocence and intelligent eyes. As Witness for Peace, we came to learn about your country, to stand in solidarity with you against the destructive policies of the Reagan administration, to help in whatever way we could in productive work and to pray for peace. But this particular group, organized in the city of St. Louis, was given another task, one not directly associated with the Witness for Peace but which we are happy to carry out. It was a task given us by the children of North America, children who wish for their Nicaraguan brothers and sisters what children are supposed to have: laughter not tears; joy not grief; play not pain.
>
> So from the boys and girls of North America who have no enemies here, only playmates, we present $4,000 for the construction of three playgrounds for the children of LaEstancia, Escombrai and Santa Cruz. Let these solidarity parks be symbolic grounds for peace between our peoples even though, because of what they represent, they may become a focus for contra attack. In the face of violence, the children will play; in the face of loss, the children will sing; in spite of the war, the children will make peace."

As more people heard about the "solidarity parks" effort, it became clear that this effort should be expanded. Someone pointed out the ironic comparison that generated the title of the expanded project -- that as the Reagan administration was escalating the war against Nicaragua building battlegrounds as it were, the children of the United States and Canada were building playgrounds. The Institute for Peace and Justice and the Inter-Faith Committee for Latin America in St. Louis both agreed to take responsibility for the project and a number of national peace organizations agreed to become initial co-sponsors -- the Fellowship of Reconciliation, Pax Christi USA, and the Resource Center for Nonviolence in Santa Cruz, CA.

While additional communities in Nicaragua that would take responsibility for the construction of playgrounds were being solicited, consciousness-raising and fund-raising efforts began in North America on a very limited and decentralized basis. The "AMIGOS DE LOS NINOS" slide/tape presentation was completed and began to be shown in a number of schools and churches in the US and Canada, as a way of communicating to children the reality of life for Nicaraguan children and how they as North Americans could be sisters and brothers to their Nicaraguan counterparts. Children are the main focus for this project and they have already come up with an amazing assortment of ways of generating funds and concern. They have sent money earned through special projects, have given Lenten sacrifices, and one girl even asked everyone she invited to her birthday party to bring donations to the "Playgrounds" project instead of a gift. School classes have also participated in creative ways. One Canadian fifth grade class constructed a model playground for their classroom as a visual reminder of what they were sacrificing and raising money for. Another Canadian fifth grade class sent in the following letter:

> Dear Kids in Nicaragua,
>
> When we first saw the slide show of you, Miss Rowan, our teacher and us kids felt we needed to do something. We started hearing more and more about Nicaraguan people at war and refugee camps. So we decided to have a bake sale for you kids to have playgrounds and we raised $165.00. We really hope that you can use it.
>
> Yours truly,
> The Grade 5 Class
> of St. Thomas Aquinas School

Perhaps the most elaborate effort to date involved the first and second grade students at St. Leo's School in San Antonio, Texas. The teacher showed them the "AMIGOS DE LOS NINOS" slide show and they then discussed what they had learned, and drew pictures of playgrounds to send as a gift to the children of Nicaragua. They raised $49.42 by making little books of their stories and selling them. They sent the money to the project along with the pictures they had drawn so that we would send them to the children of Nicaragua. They also took some photographs of their playground to sent to the children. Their teacher writes: "My second graders have amazed me at the depth of their understanding and commitment for peace. I showed them the slide show about the children of Nicaragua and they wanted to see it again. Now they talk about Nicaragua, El Salvador, and Guatemala with a simple knowledge".

As a result of such creative responses by children, an additional $5,000 was raised between February and June 1984 and four more playgrounds were under construction -- in a poor barrio in the city of Leon and the town of Cardenas. For further information on how your class/school can participate in this on-going project, contact the Institute for Peace and Justice. All donations are tax-deductible and should be made payable to the Inter-Faith Committee on Latin America (4144 Lindell, St. Louis, MO. 63108).

2. Additional Children's Projects

a. Youth Center in Jalapa

The FSLN youth coordinator for Jalapa sees a dire need for young people there to have a facility to help them cope with the stresses of the war surrounding them, a place where they can relax with other young people, both teens and pre-teens. The building currently designated for the youth recreation center is the former Somoza National Guard headquarters in Jalapa but it needs considerable work before it can be used as a recreation center. Plans have been drawn up for a game room, a dance hall, an auditorium for films and plays and a commissary. The first step is the dance floor and auditorium. While the center will be primarily for teenagers, the space is also planned as a young children's play area and for children's plays. Costs for the first step have been estimated at a little more than $2,000.

b. Early Childhood Program near Ocotal

Barrio Sandino is two kilometers outside of Ocotal, the major city an hour's drive via dirt road SW of Jalapa and a site of frequent "contra" attacks. This barrio has a children's dining hall that feeds 300 children a nourishing meal each day. Because many of the children live in single-parent homes with the mother working, they stay on the grounds after the meal. Workers at the comedor want to start a project to provide recreational activities for these children. They need approximately $2,000 for sports equipment, arts and crafts supplies, a record player, music and a number of musical instruments.

D. Pairing

The SOLIDARITY WITH THE PEOPLE OF NICARAGUA book describes in detail five Nicaraguan groups who want to pair with North American counterparts. Three of these groups are youth groups and thus offer North American high school, college or church youth groups an ideal way of linking concretely with the Third World. While all three of the Nicaraguan youth groups are religiously based, their North American counterparts need not be similarly based. Public school groups can also participate. As the following components of the project indicate, this is much more than just another international "pen-pals" project.

1. The Nicaraguan groups are all working for change, for justice. One reason for relating with them is to support them in their efforts. This support or inspiration needs to be mutual. We support them by our efforts to remain faithful to our own call to work for justice and peace and are, in turn, supported and inspired by their often quite risky efforts for justice and peace.

2. Since the purpose of such a relationship is primarily mutual support and inspiration, it is not ultimately a way of raising money for social change or community development projects in the Third World. However, such possibilities might arise in the course of an on-going relationship.

3. While letters of support, exchanges of pictures, and news articles and possibly even some visiting of one another are helpful, perhaps the most effective help that we North Americans can provide to our Third World partners is to address the policies of our government that affect the lives of these people. Political action is a vital dimension of a pairing relationship(see suggestions above).

4. Part of the action for North American groups is to become a channel for the story of their Third World partner. The lack of information or deliberate misinformation about countries like Nicaragua is a serious issue. In agreeing to pair with a particular Nicaraguan group, North Americans should be willing to share the efforts of their Nicaraguan group as widely as possible. This could mean letters to the editor of one's local newspaper, inserts about the group in church bulletins or student newspapers, reports at student government or parent-teacher meetings etc.

E. Humanitarian Aid for Nicaraguan Democracy (HAND)

HAND is the humanitarian aid arm of the National Network of Solidarity with Nicaraguan People (2025 I St. NW, Washington, DC 20006; 202-223-2328). This tax-deductible fund has been aiding Nicaraguan for several years. In the fall of 1983, NNSNP/HAND launched a "US Citizens Reparations Campaign" to begin compensating the Nicaraguan people for damages caused by US intervention. The Reparations Campaign has involved two components: organizing Volunteer Work Brigades to Nicaragua and promotion of the HAND fund to collect humanitarian aid for Nicaragua in three priority areas -- health care, emergency aid to the displaced and a project to bring electricity to the Miskito settlement of Tasba Pri. College or church youth groups might contact HAND for further information about the Volunteer Work Brigades.

F. AFSC Nicaragua Appeal

The American Friends Service Committee has an impressive record in its development/aid projects. This one focuses on school supplies (paper, pencils, rulers, maps, paints, crayons, etc.), clothing, toys, and sports equipment, and medical supplies. The first shipment was sent in April 1984, with others to follow. Checks should be made out to "Central American Assistance Fund". Packages should have a note attached describing the contents.

G. Medical Aid for Nicaragua

Nicaragua faces an acute shortage of medicine. The October 1983 CIA attacks on the port of Corinto burned much of the nation's medical reserves. The spring 1984 CIA mining of the ports made it difficult for Nicaragua to ship the farm products on which it depends for foreign exchange. Yet, Nicaragua continues forward with one of the most ambitious health care programs in the western hemisphere. Pure drinking water, vaccination of children, nutrition for pregnant women, breast feeding, oral rehydration therapy to stop diarrhea, malarial control, and free health care are producing a rapid drop in the disease and death rate of Nicaragua.

In response to the medical crisis due to the war, the Quixote Center began collecting the medicine and equipment in November 1983. In the first seven months of this effort, $1 million in medical aid was shipped to Nicaragua. In terms of how we can help, "Project Aspirin" is a relatively simple way to participate. Aspirin, and even more Tylenol, is badly needed. Schools and community groups, as well as individuals, can respond. Send packages to "Quixote Center -- Project Aspirin" to Quixote Center -- Medical Aid, c/o United Export Co., Bay #90, West Service Rd., Dulles Airport, Chantilly, VA

20041. Other general medical needs include sutures, scissors, thermometers, gauze, adhesive tape, band aids, antibiotics, vitamins, antihistamines, and dozens of other medical and dental supplies and medicines. Contact the Quixote Center at 3311 Chauncey Place, #301, Mt. Rainier, MD 20712; 301-699-0042; for a complete list of medical needs and free copies of an 8-page tabloid describing this project.

H. Nicaraguan Coffee

Through efforts coordinated in the US by Friends of the Third World (611 W. Wayne, Ft. Wayne, IN 46802; 219-422-6821) and in Canada by Bridgehead Trading (54 Jackson Ave., Toronto, Ontario M4K 2x5; 416-463-0618), we can buy and/or distribute Nicaraguan coffee as a concrete gesture of solidarity, as a small way of assisting the Nicaraguan economy, and as an opportunity to raise public awareness not only about Nicaraguan efforts to re-orient their economy to benefit the poor but also about the urgency of addressing US government efforts to destroy the Nicaraguan revolution.

It was in 1983 that Friends of the Third World founded Cooperative Trading as an alternative trading organization to import Nicaraguan coffee (and other items -- see SOLIDARITY WITH THE PEOPLE OF NICARAGUA). In one year, it had imported 27 tons of Nicaraguan coffee for sale in the US -- in 43 states through food co-ops, Central American solidarity groups, religious organizations and many individuals. At present, the coffee is available as ground roasted coffee in vacuum-packed 250-gram packs (8.75 oz.), although Cooperative Trading also plans to offer roasted whole beans, restaurant-sized packs, and water-processed decaffinated coffee in the future. Individual packs are sold by mail order in any amount. The minimum wholesale order is one case of 24 packs. You might consider serving Nicaraguan coffee at school functions, even at faculty meetings, and having available the 4-page "fact sheet" from Friends of the Third World explaining the project and perhaps even some packages of Nicaraguan coffee for your colleagues and/or students to take home to try. When you buy a pack of Nicaraguan coffee this is where your money goes (compare it with coffee purchased from El Salvador and Guatemala -- in the "Case Study on General Foods and El Salvador".

"WHEN I BUY A BAG OF NICARAGUAN COFFEE, WHERE DOES THE MONEY GO?

Per each 250 gram bag:

Purchase of raw coffee	$1.06
Foil bags (from Italy)	.04
Print & affix labels	.01
Cardboard cartons	.01
Roasting	.13
Stiching Idele overhead	.06
Transportation & insurance to US	.20
Customs entry into US	.05
Dock pickup	.04
Freight forwarding	.05
Co-op Trading overhead	.10
Capital buildup for Coop	.04
Regional Distribution points	.05
Trucking within US	.29
Cost before retail markup	2.13
Sale price to customer after markup	$2.50 - 3.00 per bag

"THE LIFE OF A 17-YEAR OLD BEFORE THE REVOLUTION"

Before the revolution, if you were a 17-year old living in the countryside (where most Nicaraguans lived), your life and family were probably like the following description provided by Joseph Collins in his factual and personal account of food and farming in the new Nicaragua -- WHAT DIFFERENCE COULD A REVOLUTION MAKE?

"Imagine it's 1977 and you are a 17-year old Nicaraguan. Your family, like two-thirds of all rural families, has either no land at all or not enough to feed itself. If yours is "lucky" enough to have a little plot of land, half or even more of what you grow -- or a steep cash rent -- goes to the landowner in the city.

Last year you watched helpless as your little sister became repeatedly ill with diarrhea. Your parents saw her losing her strength but there was no one to help. In all of rural Nicaragua there are only five clinics with beds. The first few times your sister pulled through. But by then she was so weak that when measles hit, you watched her die after four painful days. The year before, your brother died right after birth; your mother and father have lost five of their children.

You cannot remember a day when your mother was not worried about having enough food for your family -- and of course, you never really did have enough or your little sister wouldn't have died from measles. You heard once on a neighbor's radio that Nicaragua was importing more and more corn, beans and sorghum. And you've heard about the incredible supermercados in Managua. But without money you can't buy food no matter how much there is.

The seven people in your family share a single-room shack, divided by a thin partition. The floor is dirt, there is no electric light, no toilet, no clean drinking water. You are outraged when you hear Somoza boast to some American reporters that "Nicaragua has no housing problem because of its wonderful climate."

You hardly know anyone who can read and write -- except the priest, of course, but he's from Spain. You'd like to learn but there is no school. Anyway, you must work.

To buy a few simple tools, some cooking oil, sugar, salt, and kerosene, your father has to borrow money. But the only source of credit is the local moneylender who makes him pay back half again as much and sometimes much more. Not surprisingly, your family is forever in debt.

Locked in debt and without land to grow enough food, your family is forced to labor on the coffee, cotton, or sugar estates. But such work is available only three to four months a year at harvest time. Since the pay is miserable everyone in your family must work to try to bring in enough: your mother, your grandmother, your older sister -- about 40 percent of the coffee and cotton cutters are women -- and your father and brother. You had to start picking coffee when you were six. For filling a 20-pound bucket you earn only 16 cents. Working sunup to sundown, you might earn a dollar..

Your "home" during the harvest is a long, windowless barrack built out of unpainted planks or plywood. With the other exhausted workers -- men and women, old people and children, sick and well -- you sleep on plywood slabs, called "drawers" because they are stacked four or five feet high with only a foot and a half of space between them. There is no privacy for there are no partitions. There is no flooring, no windows, not a single light bulb. The only toilet is the bushes. Filth all the day long. For three to four months a year this is home for you and for over 400,000 other Nicaraguans.

In the harvests, too, hunger is a constant companion. All you get are small portions of beans and fried bananas and rarely, some rice or corn tortillas or a bit of smoked cheese in place of the bananas. Yet for this food, about three hours' wages are deducted from your pay. Even here, you're sure the owner makes profits. You only see meat on the final day of the harvest when the patron and his family put on a "feast".

As you grow older, you realize that even though your family has no land, it is not because your country lacks land. You learn -- quite likely through a Catholic priest -- that there are more than five agricultural acres for every Nicaraguan, and potentially twice that. The problem is that most of the land is owned by the few big landowners. The richest 2 percent own over 50 percent of the land, while the poorest 70 percent of landowners -- and that doesn't include your father, who only rents his miserable plot -- own only 2 percent of the land.

"RECORD COFFEE HARVEST"

In December 1982, the alarm was sounded. The coffee crop had prematurely ripened in the departments of Jinotega and Matagalpa. The crop was in danger. The concern was justified since the two departments produce 60% of Nicaraguan coffee, which represents an income of US $104 million for the country, equivalent to 20% of all exports for 1983....

Not only was the coffee saved, but it ended up being a record harvest in Nicaragua, more than 70,000 tons of coffee. This achievement was primarily due to the massive mobilization of volunteer coffee harvesters, which at times included 15,000 people....

When the call for volunteer harvesters was made, the country was also facing an increase in military incursions by Somocista units from Honduras; in the last half of December these attacks resulted in 147 deaths, 249 kidnappings and left 72 injured....

On December 18, it was estimated that 8,700 volungeer harvesters were needed. The actual number of volunteers, however, far exceeded that figure. Before the year had ended, some 8,300 harvesters, in their majority members of the Sandinista Youth Association, state employees and Sandinista Defense Committee members, were harvesting the crop in the northern mountains Nicaragua. At the end of the harvest, in early February, the number had risen to 15,000 of which 11,000 were permanent volunteer harvesters. Thousands of others joined them on weekends..

The increase in counterrevolutionary activities in the region at that time was no coincidence. The goal was clearly to intimidate the harvesters and thus block the coffee harvest. As a result of the incursions by Somocista military units along the border, eight volunteer harvesters lost their lives, among them two children: Guadelupe Ruiz (age 13) and Pedro Joaquin Cruz (age 11)..."

One of the volunteer harvesters was 67-year old Isabel Sireas, who worked in the National Library in Managua. This is her story, as told to the poet Lizandro Chaves Alfaro and printed in BARRICADA INTERNATIONAL:

> "It was the best experience in my 67 years. The most beautiful experience. I'd never been to a coffee plantation before. Even though I've had to work very hard all my life. Because, to protect my children I've always worked hard so they wouldn't have to suffer as I suffered. All of my children who wanted to study, studied; they studied and I supported them. I always tried to protect them. But really, with all that hard work, I've never been happier than I was in those coffee plantations. I asked God to give me strength, because of my age, you know; and I didn't have any problem climbing those hills. Oh sure, I got a little tired, but that was all. It's unbearably cold in the north. The coffee pickers bathed at night, but they're young. I couldn't take a bath at night at my age because I have arthritis and varicose veins; so I knew it wouldn't do me any good. At 3:30 in the morning, they started up a motor to grind corn for the workers. That is when I got up and bathed. When the water first fell on me, it was very cold, but after the bath I felt like new. By 5:00 am we were in the kitchen for breakfast. Since the youngsters had to get out to the fields early, and there were so many people -- 60 of us and 60 campesinos -- I helped serve the youngsters, washed dishes and did whatever I could. At six in the morning, we went out to the fields to pick coffee.
>
> It's really something to help your homeland, to raise production. And the most wonderful thing to me was when the person in charge asked if we wanted to be paid or to donate the money to the community. Almost everyone said yes, that they wanted to donate the money. Maybe three people said no and so it was agreed that if they didn't want to donate it, they would be paid. And that was beautiful, to have been able to make that contribution. It seems to me that maybe in the next year or so, a school can be built, or a clinic, and it would be wonderful for me to know that I contributed my grain of sand. That would make me very happy...."

The following article is reprinted from the BULLETIN of the Council for Interracial Books, Volume 12, No. 2, 1981, pp. 3-7.

During the past year, 110,000 literacy teachers—many of them high school and college students—taught Nicaragua's half million illiterates to read and write. This is an account of the campaign

Education for Change: A Report on the Nicaraguan Literacy Crusade

Close on the heels of the Revolution that in 1979 toppled 45 years of Somoza dictatorship in Nicaragua came a second revolution. It was called the "Second War of Liberation" and the "cultural insurrection."

As in other Latin American dictatorships, illiteracy had been used as a tool to keep the *campesinos* docile, unquestioning, unaware that there *are* alternatives, that control of their destiny *is* possible. Nicaragua's system of education had been geared to the interests of the ruling elite, offering literacy and advancement to those who would serve and uphold the status quo.

The women and men who took up arms against the Somoza regime had as their goal not just the overthrow of a government, but the liberation of a people—and after victory in battle, the next priority was literacy. At the time of Somoza's defeat, half of all Nicaraguans could neither read nor write. In rural areas the illiteracy rate was estimated at 75 to 80 per cent, and, for women in many villages, 100 per cent.

Plans for a Literacy Crusade, under the direction of Fernando Cardenal, began five weeks after the new government took control. The Literacy Crusade's goal was to bring functional literacy—reading at the third grade level—to 50 per cent of the population, or as many as could be reached. The Crusade organizers conducted an extensive examination of literacy programs in other Third World nations—Cuba, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde—and invited the internationally renowned expert Paulo Freire to Managua to consult on methodology (a discussion of Freire's methods appears on page 12).

While method and content were being planned (see page 10 for an analysis of the primers and workbooks), a village-by-village nationwide census was carried out to determine levels of literacy in each of Nicaragua's 16 provinces. Efforts were also made to ascertain the availability of volunteer teachers.

Influenced by Freire's methodology, the planners hoped to provide one literacy teacher for every four or five *campesinos* (poor country people). Teachers would be assigned to their own province when possible, but tens of thousands of teachers would have to be transported from the cities to the remote areas in the northern mountains and the Atlantic Coast forest regions where available teachers were scarce.

A serious problem was how to mobilize national resources for such a large-scale campaign without interfering with production. During the Revolution, entire sections of Nicaragua's cities had been destroyed by the punitive bombings of the National Guard. Before Somoza fled, he pillaged the national treasury and left massive debts which the new government pledged to honor. Money to pay these debts had to be earned from exports, which meant production of goods had to be increased.

A clever solution was arrived at. Those who volunteered to work in the Literacy Crusade would be divided into two groups. One would consist of young people not yet actively engaged in productive work, who would leave the cities and live with the *campesinos* in the rural areas and mountains for a period of five months. They would give classes in the evenings and by day they would work in the fields, planting crops, harvesting, tending animals and helping to increase the nation's productive capacity. These volunteers would comprise the Popular Literacy Army (EPA), better known as *brigadistas*. The second group would be factory workers, government workers, housewives and professionals who would remain at their regular work in the cities and teach in the urban *barrios* during nonworking hours. These were the Popular Literacy Teachers, called "popular alphabetizers (AP)."

The volunteers for the *brigadistas* were young people—high school and college students primarily, although some were as young as twelve. Several reasons account for the youthfulness of the *brigadistas*. For one thing, many had fought in the Revolution and were committed to its goals. (A striking aspect of the Nicaraguan Revolution had been the youth of the liberation fighters—teenagers, or younger.)

In addition, the government made specific efforts to enlist young people in order to raise their consciousness about the realities of the poverty and oppression of the *campesinos* in the rural and mountain areas. (Most of the *brigadistas* were from urban areas, and while illiteracy was high there, it was far, far higher in the country.)

The *brigadistas* were the political descendants of the "Choir of Angels"—children who had formed part of Augusto César Sandino's guerrilla army during the struggle to oust the occupying U.S. Marines in the 1930's. The "Choir" worked to "alphabetize" the *campesinos* in the mountainous provinces of Matagalpa, Jinotega and Nueva Segovia, so that they could read Sandino's literature. In the 1960's this same area became the base for the Sandinista forces—nationalists who derived their names and inspiration from Sandino.

Parental Permission Required

Parental permission was a requisite for minors who wished to join the *brigadistas*. The Crusade organizers found that they faced opposition from some middle-class parents who were not supportive of the Revolution and who, in addition, had traditional parental worries about their children, particularly their daughters. (Working class parents were not, in general, antagonistic.)

Parent hostility was met by widespread discussions about their concerns. Campaign representatives held weekly meetings in the schools with parents and students. Posters, newspaper articles and TV and radio programs addressed the issues. To allay some of the parents' fears, it was decided to organize single-sex brigades, and young girls would be accompanied by their teachers and live in dormitories, farmhouses, public buildings or schoolrooms. Boys and older girls would live in the homes of the *campesinos*. It is worth noting that children from middle-class homes—who joined the Crusade for a variety of reasons—usually became committed to the goals of the new

ABOUT THE

When you have good boots, a strong hammock, a mosquito net, purified water, new pants and shirt and enough food, then, I suppose, it is merely heroic to put up with no toilets, mosquito bites all day long, a plentiful and vicious tick population, plus a three to seven day walk to the nearest doctor, priest or shower. The fact is that most *brigadistas* started with NO boots, NO bedding, NO mosquito nets, NO purified water—and, worst of all, very little food. For the *brigadistas* that meant serious health problems such as malaria, diarrhea and physical exhaustion from systems weakened by poor diet and poisoned by mosquito and tick bites. I have seen faces burned and re-burned, unaccustomed to prolonged exposure to the sun, lips blackened with fever blisters, arms bumpy and peeling from insect bites . . . one weeps—but they carry on! The international aid has finally arrived so now most *brigadistas* have their basic supplies, but at the start they had a painful baptism into the hardships of peasant life. —Based on a report from John McFadden, a California State University professor who has been living in Nicaragua as consultant to the teacher-training division of the Literacy Crusade.

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Felix Vijil, who was only eleven years old, had to lie about his age to join the crusade. "I infiltrated into one of the brigades," the youngster explained. Wearing an army cap adorned with a literacy button and a Sandinista National Liberation Front pin, he recalled his days with the campaign.

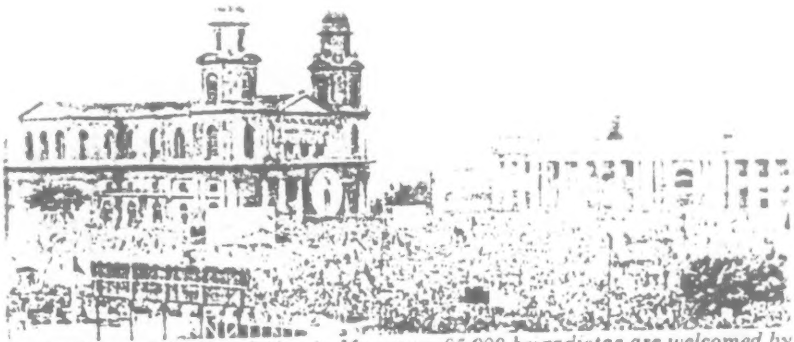
The youngest of three children, Felix grew up in a home with six servants during Somoza's reign. (Under the Sandinistas, the number has dropped to two.) His father is Miguel Vijil, an engineer and the minister of housing in Nicaragua. Felix and his two sisters left home to join the crusade alongside youths from the poorest of families.

Felix was assigned to San Rafael del Sur, a coastal town about an hour's drive from Managua. There he lived with a peasant family in a thatch-roofed hut on poles. His main work consisted of hauling water from a well and planting and grinding corn. He found he was too small to help in the town mining operation, which involved hauling 75-pound blocks of lime.

During two-hour sessions in the morning and afternoon, Felix conducted literacy classes for the seven people in his peasant family. The youngest was seventeen, the oldest sixty-two.

Midway through the crusade, Felix went home to recover from a bad case of fleas and worms that he had picked up living with the peasants. But he returned in 15 days to continue his literacy work.

For Felix himself, the crusade was a rite of passage. "When we left, we were just a bunch of little kids who didn't know anything," said the eleven-year-old. "Now we are mature." —From the newspaper report, "Nicaragua's Literacy Campaign, a Testament to Youth" by Huntly Collins, appearing in *The Oregonian*, September 21, 1980.



At the Plaza of the Revolution in Managua, 95,000 brigadistas are welcomed by a half million Nicaraguans on August 23, 1980, after an absence of five months.

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BRIGADISTAS

Susan E Dunman

At left, brigadista *Isabel C. Quintana, whose report appears below.*

I have a family background of commitment to the Sandinista movement. As a child I remember vividly my grandfather's words of praise for the liberation struggle led by Sandino to get the U.S. occupation troops out of Nicaragua. There was much rejoicing in my home when Sandino won and the U.S. troops left. But all this celebrating stopped when Sandino was assassinated by Somoza.

You hear more about *brigadistas* who went to alphabetize people in the mountains. Let me tell you a little about the others who stayed in the cities and became *alfabetizadores publicos*. They went into the *barrios* of the city for the same amount of time that we did—five months—but it wasn't as glamorous. My father was one of these. He would go after work into one of the hundreds of *barrios* in Esteli. He spent two to three hours every night with the same families, teaching them from the same primers we used with *campesinos* in the mountains.

My younger brother was an *alfabetizador público*, too. My parents didn't know what he was doing at first. He was amazing! Each morning he would leave home, but instead of going to his regular school he went to *la escuela de alfabetizacion*. He lied about his age. My parents didn't find out about his going there for two weeks—they thought he was going to his regular school—and by then the teachers of *la escuela de alfabetizacion* thought my brother was so good, they persuaded my parents to let him stay. He was assigned to a *barrio* near his home, and every afternoon after his regular school, he would go to that *barrio* and work with the poor people of the city. He used the same primer with them that my father and I did.

I was assigned to an area near Esteli. There were 54 houses there, none close together but all within walking distance of each other. Four other *brigadistas* and I lived with different families, and we were each responsible for teaching six or seven people. It took a full week before I felt the people I was with respected me enough to start the study periods. Before we could teach we worked along with the families, cooking, cleaning the floors and washing clothes in the river, and working in the fields with a machete to cut the cane. The study periods I conducted were always in the evening, after the day's work and after supper. The study periods lasted two hours. Each *brigadista* came with a lamp, and while there was no electricity and few families could afford lamps, the ones we brought made it possible to work late at night. At the end of the crusade, 40 people in our area could read and write. I was successful with six out of my seven students. —Isabel C. Quintana, Managua

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The Field Diary was used by the *brigadistas* to register their daily experiences and their thoughts. In a sense, they were work diaries. At the weekly Saturday regional workshops these diaries were discussed collectively as a way of finding concrete answers to problems arising in the process of *alfabetizacion*.

Continued on page 6

society Nicaragua is trying to build.

Initial preparations lasted six months. The Literacy Crusade first launched a pilot project in the same northern provinces where the Sandinistas had originally made their base. Undertaken by the 80-member Patria Libre brigade, its objective was to test a training design and gain practical experience that would later be transmitted to the other *brigadistas*. The group members also underwent physical training to prepare them for the arduous tasks ahead.

After completing the pilot project, each of the 80 members of the Patria Libre conducted workshops and trained 560 more teachers. These, in turn, trained 7,000 teachers. For the final phase, which ended in March, 1980, schools and colleges were closed early, releasing thousands of volunteer students for additional training. By the conclusion of the last phase of training, a grand total of 95,000 "alphabetizers" were prepared for the campaign. Of these, 60,000 were the young *brigadistas* who would work and teach in the countryside. The other 35,000 were the "popular alphabetizers," adults for the most part, who remained in the cities to work in the *barrios*.

Groups Support Crusade

The Nicaraguan Revolution had been successful in large part because of the involvement of people's organizations that had formed in the years preceding 1978. Some of these were the National Union of Teachers, the Sandinista Trade Union Federation, the Organization of Nicaraguan Women, the block- and street-based Sandinista Defense Committee and the Association of Rural Workers. The same groups now provided the Literacy Crusade with massive logistical support, transporting 60,000 brigadistas from the cities to the countryside, supplying them with food, medical care, textbooks, etc. They also provided protection; security was a major concern, because remnants of Somoza's National Guard, which had fled into the mountains on the Honduras border, threatened that the *brigadistas* would be killed.

On March 24 of last year, truck convoys by the thousands left the cities of Managua, Estelí, Léon, Grenada and Matagaipa and fanned out to all of Nicaragua's provinces. Because of the terrain, thousands of

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brigadistas had to march by foot. Some traveled by boat, some by helicopter. Each *brigadista* was eventually outfitted with jeans, a gray tunic, a mosquito net, a hammock, a lantern by which to teach at night and a portable blackboard. On *brigadista* arrival day, a special service was held in every church of every denomination to greet the *brigadistas* and to launch the Crusade.

From the end of March until mid-August, the *brigadistas* followed roughly this pattern: by day, work in the fields with the *campesinos* they lived with or chores around the house; by night, two hours of instruction with from five to seven *campesinos* huddled around a gas lamp. On Saturday, there were workshops with other *brigadistas*—usually 30 in number from the same village or a village nearby—to evaluate the week's work, discuss common problems and plan the week ahead. For those *brigadistas* who could not meet together because of distance, all-day Saturday radio programs informed them of news of the campaign and offered advice and encouragement. In the cities, the popular alphabetizers worked at their regular jobs and, in addition, gave two hours of instruction at night; they also had Saturday workshops. Within this general pattern, there were wide variations, as indicated by the experiences of individual *brigadistas* recounted on the accompanying pages.

The campaign took its toll: 56 *brigadistas* died during the Crusade. Six were murdered by the National Guard, the rest were killed by acci-

The campaign brought Nicaragua's illiteracy rate from 52 per cent to 13 per cent. Reading and writing were only part of the campaign's total impact.

Larry Boyd/LNS

Continued from page 5

Many *brigadistas* mention that when they read their own diaries at the end of the campaign, they laughed at their early perceptions of the community they were working in, their people. Their comments indicate how important the diaries have been in helping the *brigadistas* reflect on their own conscientization.

During the campaign's first two weeks the only thing one *brigadista* wrote in her diary about her teaching experience was that "these five adults that I have to teach are never going to learn." At the end of the diary, there are five letters from these adults thanking her for teaching them to read and write.

Another *brigadista* wrote to the Ministry of Education requesting to be exempted from handing in his diary because he wanted to keep it. He wanted to read it to his children—as yet unborn—so that they could understand what their own people were capable of in their first year of Revolution. —From a report by Maria Suarez, who worked in the research division of the Literacy Crusade.

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Juan José Guerra Linares, eighteen, is the leader of Escuadra Adolfo Aquirre, a group of 30 young *brigadistas*. They have been teaching peasants in the Department (province) of Chontales, Nicaragua.

Getting the *brigadistas* to their designated students proved to be a difficult task. The underbrush was so thick in some places, and the terrain so treacherous, that eight of his people got lost. Juan learned that he needed a burro to visit the various locations, because the mud was ankle-deep in many places.

The first problem the *brigadistas* had to face was the hard life in the countryside. They were all city kids. They were not accustomed to the rigors of rural life: long hours of work in the fields with their students (who ranged in age from seven to fifty), a diet of rice and tortillas, lack of sanitary facilities, insects (especially mosquitos), and lack of electricity.

The *brigadistas* met all kinds of resistance to their teaching, besides the lack of respect that rural folk had for city dwellers. After 40 years of tyranny from the Somozas, the peasants did not trust anyone connected with any government. They thought that perhaps these young people had been sent as spies and that they might lose their land.

There were other sources of resistance. After a day's work on a meager diet, many were too tired to sit down and study for two hours each day by gas lanterns. Many said they were too old to learn, or could not see any point in learning to read.

The *brigadistas* found ways to break down the resistance and suspicions. Some used the Bible to teach from instead of sticking to the prepared text materials.

But the campaign in Chontales was a success. Not all who were assigned teachers learned how to read and write, but most did. —From a report by David L. Schwartz, Professor of Sociology at Albright College, Reading, Pa., who visited Nicaragua last December.

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"I was a snob before I went off to alphabetize; I didn't greet *campesinos* who came into town; I fussed a lot about dressing up and making up my face, and before I put on the new boots the crusade gave me, I filed and painted my toenails. Now that I know people from surrounding valleys, people are always stopping by to say 'hello' and I love it. My old worries just bore me now."

Before the triumph of the revolution, Julia, who made the statement above, measured herself against standards and criteria which were communicated through Spanish-dubbed U.S. TV programs. She looked up to the few families in town who dressed better and lived more comfortably than her own family, and she was among those young Nicaraguans who joined the crusade as a favor to the country. She was without enthusiasm.

Julia now knows personally how most Nicaraguans live; she spent five months eating beans and tortillas, sleeping with fleas, getting up at 5 a.m., sharing a bedroom with a whole family, hiking for miles through mud and rocks and living without the convenience of even an outhouse. She knows lots of once illiterate people whom she regards as far more talented and intelligent than herself: the student in her class who learned to read in two months, or the one her own age who listened to the radio so carefully and consistently that he (who couldn't even

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read a newspaper) shamed her (who never bothered to read) with his knowledge of world politics.

Julia now knows a man who has an almost endless repertoire of songs he composed himself, songs which no one had ever written down. She knows another illiterate man who designed his house with the applied science of a professional architect, a man who knows more physics than most college graduates and who, exploiting the laws of gravity, built the only house in the valley with running water. But Julia also knows a child, who, old enough to know better, asked her if cars ate grass. Knowing this wasting human potential by name, knowing Luisa, Leopolda, Chuno, Pedro and Antonia by name, makes her old worries trivial to her now. —From a report by Beverly Treuman, a North American who participated in the Literacy Crusade.

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Now, the idea of "Revolutionary Priests" might seem foreign to some . . . but today, throughout Latin America, Christians are stepping forward to oppose the dictatorships that rule most of the countries throughout Central and South America.

Between 1964 and 1978, 978 priests, nuns, and bishops of the Catholic Church were arrested throughout Latin America. That's almost 1,000! Seventy-three were tortured, 78 killed, and 37 disappeared or were kidnapped.

Church people are saying that God did not intend for human beings who are His children to suffer and to die when the lands about them are abundant with the materials and the wealth to feed and to clothe all of the people, if only they were shared equitably. That vision that the Church has developed of what life might be like now for its people, rather than a vision of heaven when they die, has now led the Church to involve itself in direct political activity, and which has also often led Church people to Socialist economics.

Today in Nicaragua, they believe that they have found a model: a model of Christians and Socialists working together, a model that they believe will be duplicated throughout Latin America.

When I asked Father Ernesto Cardenal [a Diocesan Priest who is Minister of Culture] if in Nicaragua they were in fact creating the Kingdom of God on earth, he paused and then said: "No, not creating the Kingdom but getting closer!" —From a report by the Reverend Philip Zwerling, Minister of the Unitarian Church of Los Angeles, who visited Nicaragua last year.

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Nestor, serious and intense, is twenty years old and a student at The University of Central America, studying chemical engineering. His family is lower middle class.

He was active in the fighting of the Revolution, though not as active as his older brother (who also survived) or his cousin (who was killed by the National Guard). He participated in and witnessed a great deal of killing and destruction and saw many of his friends die. He tries not to think of the experience too much, but he's extremely proud of what he did.

One evening during the fighting the National Guard came to all the houses in his neighborhood and removed all the young people between the ages of eleven and twenty-five. They told the parents that since all the young people were part of the Revolution, they would all be taken to jail until the fighting was over. That night the National Guard shot all these children and publicly cremated their bodies. Nestor's mother had been warned about the roundup and managed to get him, his brother and his young sister out of the house beforehand, but he witnessed the cremation. Those killed included his cousin and many of his friends.

After the victory, Nestor became active in the Literacy Crusade. He "alphabetized" many people in a small village near Matagalpa. He found the children were easy to teach, but that many adults claimed to be too old to learn. Still, he found the experience extremely rewarding, and felt he learned as much from the peasants as they learned from him. —Based on an interview with Sevilla Fonseca, *brigadista* from the village of Kumusaca in the Department of Chontales. It was one of several interviews with *brigadistas* conducted by a U.S. visitors' team sponsored in December, 1980, by the North American Congress on Latin America (NACLA).

Sarah Plant and John Gordon/LNS

130,000 portable blackboards, like the one above, were donated to the campaign by the nation of Colombia.

dents and illness. Today, the murdered youth are hailed by Nicaraguans as martyred heros, and their faces are enshrined on posters and paintings hung everywhere.

The campaign itself was extremely successful. At its end, some 500,000 *campesinos* were no longer illiterate, and the rate of illiteracy was down from a national average of 52 per cent to just under 13 per cent. Confirming the statistics are the documented exams and the simple sentences that all *campesinos* had to write at the end of the five-month learning period. As important as the literacy they gained, however, was their new awareness of themselves and of their significance to the nation. Prior to the Revolution, *campesinos* had been considered of little or no consequence; but this campaign, a major indication of positive governmental concern, contributed to a new sense of dignity and self worth.

The influence of the crusade on the *brigadistas* and other "alphabetizers" was also dramatic. They gained a new understanding and respect for the rural poor—and often, as noted, a new commitment to the goals of the Revolution. Participants also learned a variety of skills—life skills as well as teaching skills. All gained a more profound understanding of their nation—and learned that they could play a role in creating a new society.

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Land and Hunger: Nicaragua

By John P. Olinger, Issue Analyst • Background Paper No. 71 • December 1983

Nicaragua before the revolution

Before the Nicaraguan revolution of 1979, 50 percent of the population of about 2.5 million people were estimated to be living in serious poverty. Nearly half of the people were illiterate and most rural areas had no schools.

One percent of the rural population controlled almost half of the farmland, which was used to produce cotton, coffee, sugar and beef for export. Between 60 and 70 percent of the rural population were either landless or worked small, marginal plots.

Malnutrition and seasonal hunger were widespread: For the rural poor, food security depends on having enough land to farm for themselves or adequate wages. Since most rural people were landless and dependent on seasonal employment on large estates, many people went hungry during a large part of the year.

The Pan American Health Organization reported an infant mortality rate of 120 deaths per 1,000 births in the 1970s. Neighboring Costa Rica's infant mortality rate was 34 per 1,000. Fifty-four percent of infant diseases were nutrition related.

A 1976 U.S. Agency for International Development Nutrition Sector Assessment stated that "... malnutrition is one of the most serious and widespread socio-economic problems in Nicaragua." This study estimated that 56.6 percent of children between birth and age 4 suffered from malnutrition.

The AID report concluded that to address the problem of malnutrition, the government would have to deal with improving domestic food consumption.

The failure of Anastasio Somoza's government to deal with this and many other problems led to open rebellion in 1978. When Somoza's government was overthrown by a movement of peasants, workers, business and church people in July 1979, the new government, led by the Sandinista National Liberation Front, placed great emphasis on the problems of land distribution, agricultural production and malnutrition.

Land Reform and Rural Development

The Sandinista leadership promised to implement a comprehensive rural development program that would create a more equitable distribution of resources, generate employment and increase rural income and living standards. The government hoped that this development program would help to rebuild the economy. During the revolution, Nicaragua's gross national product fell by 32 percent and agricultural production was severely disrupted.

Redistribution of farmland was to be the central part of the rural program. During the struggle to overthrow Somoza, landless workers, sharecroppers, tenant farmers and farmers who had only small, marginal plots of land began to occupy vacant and underused land that belonged to owners of large tracts. The new government was pressed, through demonstrations by its rural supporters, to enact further redistribution.

The government worked with rural people to develop a comprehensive program to provide land and credit to people while increasing staple food and export crop production. Policy was coordinated with unions representing farmworkers and owners of small farms.

The first step in the land reform process was taken immediately after Somoza was overthrown. All land belonging to Somoza and his associates who had fled the country was confiscated. This was about 20 percent of the agricultural land in Nicaragua. Almost three-fourths of this land was turned into state-run farms; the rest was turned over to cooperatives of agricultural workers. This was some of the country's best land. About 45,000 landless workers were employed on the new farms, and the minimum wage was increased, by 30 percent initially and by a further 18 percent within a year to offset inflation. A ceiling was placed on agricultural rents, which effectively lowered rents. Sharecropping was ended.

On the anniversary of the revolution in July 1981, the government enacted a new reform law which gave it the power to confiscate and redistribute unused or underused land, about 30 percent more of the agricultural land. Confiscated land was turned over

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to cooperatives of landless farmworkers and owners of small farms.

Landowners whose land was confiscated were issued bonds which will mature in 15 to 35 years. Landowners could also appeal the confiscation to a special tribunal. Of the 94 landowners who lost land in the first year after the new law was enacted, 18 appealed and land was restored to six of them.

The government implemented a new rural credit program that focused on small, family farms and cooperatives. This program began at the same time as the land redistribution, to give the new landholders as much support as possible and to put land into production quickly.

In 1978, owners of small farms — farms of less than 17½ acres — received 18 percent of rural credit allocations; in 1981, they received 81 percent. In the first year of the program, credit for small farmers was increased 639 percent and interest rates were cut in half. These farmers are the key to producing enough staple food: 200,000 farmers with small tracts of land use about 14 percent of the land and produce 60 percent of the corn and beans Nicaraguans eat.

The government uses the credit program to encourage cooperatives, by charging farmers in cooperatives lower interest rates for their loans. Farmers who join credit cooperatives do not give up ownership of their land.

Production cooperatives are another form of cooperative being set up for farmworkers who have no land of their own. In these cooperatives, land ownership rests with the cooperative and not the individual.

In 1982, there were 2,000 credit cooperatives involving 45,000 farmers with small tracts of land and 800 production cooperatives involving 10,000 landless workers.

The government is not ending private farming. The 1981 land reform law reaffirmed the right to private property, and at the end of 1982, 77 percent of the land was held by private farmers or cooperatives. The government does not wish to extend the state-owned farms beyond the 23 percent of the land they already occupy. In fact, in 1982, the government began to turn some state-owned farms over to cooperatives and owners of small farms because the state farms could not be run efficiently. About 300 farms, or 40 percent of the state land, were turned back to private use.

Staple Crops

In the short term, food imports have been needed to make up lost production because of war damage and to meet increased demand for food because of increased employment and wages. From 1979 to 1982, Nicaraguan consumption of corn increased 35 percent, of beans 40 percent, and of rice 30 percent. Rice was the only one which could be supplied totally by Nicaraguan producers. The government had to import other food. But it is conscious of the need to achieve self-sufficiency in basic foodstuffs and was made more so in April 1981 when the Reagan administration cancelled a loan which would have been used to buy U.S. wheat.

In 1981, the government announced a National Food Program, to coordinate land reform, credit and marketing programs. The central strategy of this program is to improve the capabilities of the small farms, which produce most food crops — corn, beans and rice.

The emphasis on food production has paid off. By 1982, pre-war production levels of rice, beans, sorghum and sesame had all been surpassed. Corn production had increased but not to pre-war levels.

At this point, many problems remain. Much of the land currently being used to graze cattle would probably be better used to grow food crops, while marginal land now producing food could be used to graze cattle. Some land producing export crops, especially cotton, probably could be used more economically to produce corn and beans. Problems such as these require further reorganization of the agricultural sector. But that reorganization can be carried out within a landholding structure that is far more equitable than under the Somoza government.

Problems and Successes

Land reform and its associated programs have not been without their problems. Many landless workers who expected to get their own land remain without land. Although they have employment in the export sector and on state farms, the land reform is incomplete for them; it is unlikely they will get land in the near future.

The increase in credit may have added to inflation in rural areas because there were often not enough goods to buy, and prices rose. Many farmers did not repay their loans, and the program has been slowed up.

The distribution and storage system

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for crops continues to be underdeveloped. There is a shortage of people to manage many of the new programs. On the other hand, many complain of the increase in bureaucracy and worry that this increase will add to inflation. There have been complaints of political interference in some of the programs and some managers have quit because they feel that too much emphasis is being placed on politics and not enough on production.

Inflation has eaten into gains in income that were made in 1979 and 1980. In 1981, real income declined, although this was balanced to some extent by the increase in health and social services. In 1981, the government introduced an austerity program and placed strict controls on imports and on the use of foreign currency.

It also has been costly and difficult for the government to provide incentives to reassure business people and convince them to stay in Nicaragua. Although many stay, many are leaving and taking their capital with them.

Within the cooperative program, the government continues to struggle with problems of encouraging democratic structures and participation while ensuring sufficient production.

Despite these problems, and in the face of opposition from the U.S. and U.S.-supported counterrevolutionaries who are attempting to overthrow the Nicaraguan government, the Nicaraguan people have been able to achieve a great deal. Nicaragua has been able to maintain a strong rate of economic growth at a time when other Central American countries' growth rates are stagnating. (Table 1)

Staple food and export crop production and food consumption all have increased. More than 40,000 landless families have land for the first time, and other landless workers are now employed on state farms. A cooperative system has been set up and credit is more easily available. A literacy campaign, carried out in conjunction with rural development, brought 1,200 new schools to poor people, mostly in rural areas, and reduced the illiteracy rate from about 50 percent to 15 percent.

Infant mortality has declined by 33 percent. Cases of malaria have declined by 50 percent. More than a million people have been vaccinated.

The Physical Quality of Life Index — often used to measure the level of physical well-being and based on infant mortality, life expectancy and literacy figures — improved by 25 percent from 1979 to 1983. (Table 2)

TABLE 2: Changes in the Physical Quality of Life Index (PQLI) of Central American Countries from 1979-1983

	PQLI 1979	PQLI 1983	percent change
Costa Rica	85	89	4.7
El Salvador	64	70	9.3
Guatemala	54	59	9.2
Honduras	53	61	15.0
Nicaragua	55	69	25.4

Source: Overseas Development Council

Lessons Learned

Nicaragua demonstrates the potential for land reform in Central America when it is undertaken with the participation of owners of small farms and landless people.

Nicaraguan land reform has not been introduced in isolation but has been part of a rural development program that included health and literacy programs and support for local food production.

The main features of Nicaragua's program that can serve as guideposts for others are:

— Redistribution of land among owners of small farms and landless people.

— Creation of employment for landless workers.

— Reform of rent and tenant laws.

— Provision of credit.

— Improvement in social services, and

— Active participation of rural people in reform and development programs.

Nicaragua also has shown that it is possible to balance staple food production with export production, if the government is willing to take steps to ensure the nutritional health of its population.

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NICARAGUAN GOVERNMENT -- ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH TENSION
"POINT

ST LOUIS GLOBE-DEMOCRAT
August 24, 1982

Left hand heavier than the right

By PATRICK J. BUCHANAN

WASHINGTON — The triumph of the Revolution in Nicaragua, three summers ago, was almost universally hailed by human rights advocates and the Roman Catholic Church. Jimmy Carter's government, which had shut down the arms pipeline to Gen. Somoza, shouldered its way into the front of the line to share the limelight for the Sandinista victory.

Where are they now? Where are those loud "human rights" champions who used to hog the microphones to denounce Somoza, those radical priests expounding the "liberation theology," wherein Catholics and communists in Latin America would hand in hand build the new society? Where are they now that the Christian churches in general and the Catholic Church in particular are being put up on a cross in Nicaragua?

Early this month, Pope John Paul II wrote to the clergy and Catholic faithful of Nicaragua a papal letter denouncing as fraudulent the "Popular Church" — that heretical little rump outfit set up by the Sandinistas to parrot the party line from the pulpit. While the Pope's letter was read at mass in every parish, the Sandinistas shut down the nation's only independent paper, La Prensa, for days rather than tolerate its publication.

REPEATEDLY, the bishop of Nicaragua's eastern province, where the Miskito Indians are suffering constant persecution and occasional martyrdom, has been seized by the central authorities and denied permission to return.

When the auxiliary bishop of the capital went to one parish to re-establish church authority, he was set upon and beaten by a mob, all of whom were given a general excommunication by Archbishop Obando y Bravo, whose personal heroism is making him the Mindzenty of Managua.

In recent weeks, 20 non-Catholic churches have been seized by the Sandinistas, inluding Mormon, Baptist and Seventh Day Adventist. The last seems particularly high on the regime's enemies list. Interior Minister Tomas Borge is quoted in the National Catholic Register as warning that the "future of religious sects in Nicaragua will depend on their attitudes henceforth toward the revolution." As for the Seventh Day Adventist whom Borge accused of being behind the attempted bombing of a high-tension tower in the city of Las Maderas, he warned, "Its days in Nicaragua are coming to an end."

In the most recent and outrageous incident, Rev. Bismarck Carballo, spokesman for the archdiocese, was set upon while lunching with a woman friend; both were stripped naked and paraded through the streets to jail where he was held six hours. The government-controlled newspapers Barricuda and El Nuevo Diario played up the photographs and story, as did the state-run television. Outraged Catholic students seized high schools around the country in protest, and in Monimbo, an impoverished Catholic and Indian neighborhood, barricades were thrown up against Sandinista mobs and troops, three people were killed and six wounded.

"There is a silent persecution of the Christians going on in Nicaragua," says Humberto Belli, until April the editorial editor of La Prensa. "The rank and file of the Church are siding with the archbishop of Managua . . . He is by far the most popular man in Nicaragua."

THE ARCHBISHOP whose car has been twice attacked by regime supporters is being publicly disparaged by the Maryknoll collaborator and foreign minister Rev. Miguel D'Escoto, the Roman collar of the regime.

The inevitable question arises: Is this new communist regime in Managua a worse offender of human rights than the corrupt, right-wing authoritarian regime it replaced? Here is the testimony of Jose Estaban Gonzales, who organized the Nicaraguan Permanent Commission for Human Rights under Somoza:

"During the first few days of the revolution we refused to make comparisons (between the new government and Somoza) because there was a different situation. Now I would say clearly the situation is much worse. During the Somoza regime the repression didn't affect the whole community but only those who were in conflict with the government. But now everybody in Nicaragua is affected — not just those who are directly political."

And Senor Belli: "There is a paranoid kind of attitude. It is not enough that you are not against them (the Sandinistas) — you've got to be for them."

Precisely as Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick described it would ever be, in her brilliant work, "Dictatorships and Double Standards." The totalitarian left is far the greater menace to human rights than the authoritarian right. And in Nicaragua, the communists are behaving like communists. Who was so foolish as to expect otherwise?

ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH
August 20, 1982

Vatican Assails Sandinistas For Antagonism To Church

VATICAN CITY — The Vatican has issued its harshest criticism of the leftist Sandinista government in Nicaragua.

"The church and its institutions have become targets of offensiveness and violence . . . in a nation where Catholic faith and tradition have been so firmly rooted," the Vatican said Thursday in a front-page article in its official newspaper, L'Osservatore Romano.

Behind the criticism was the news that Nicaraguan authorities had arrested 81 Roman Catholics and that five Roman Catholic priests had been forced to take refuge in the Costa Rican and Spanish embassies in Managua after being threatened by Sandinistas.

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"COUNTERPOINT" - by Jim McGinnis

Upon my return from Nicaragua in August 1982, I encountered a number of newspaper stories critical of the Nicaraguan government. Several struck me as particularly untrue and caused me to investigate and to take action. In response to the Vatican criticism, I telephoned Mary Hartman in Managua and received the account below. (Mary is a Roman Catholic sister who has worked in Nicaragua for more than 20 years, currently as part of the Nicaraguan Commission for the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights, in which capacity she is in touch with cases such as the one described in this mini case study. We lived with her for three weeks in Managua and came to respect her integrity and commitment to justice.)

Mary Hartman's version; via telephone, August 21, 1982:

> "81 students belonging to the conservative MDN party (whose leaders left Nicaragua in April to help organize the counterrevolution) were arrested after they took over a Catholic high school in Monimbo and opened fire on a march of Sandinista youth and Monimbo residents protesting the take-over. Apparently, the Salesian priest-directors of the school were aware of the planned take-over but not of the presence of weapons. The 81 arrested (only 9 of whom were from the community of Monimbo) were taken to the Costa Rican embassy for their own protection, since the community was irate over the take-over. The Salesian priests were to meet with government officials on August 22, to get to the bottom of the affair. But it was not a Church-government conflict and there was not and has not been any persecution of the Church in Nicaragua."

To get further information on this specific incident and on the events surrounding it, events interpreted in the US as signs of government persecution of the Catholic Church in Nicaragua, I telephoned Patricia Hynds, a Maryknoll lay missionary who works with the Instituto Historico Centroamericano, a research/education program affiliated with Jesuit-run University of Central America in Managua. Pat's responsibility is publishing a 20-page monthly bulletin analyzing events in Nicaragua for readers in other countries. The Instituto had just finished their analysis of the following events (for their September 1982 issue of ENVIO) when I spoke with her on September 2. Following her account of the events are a series of observations and judgments I made about the events and charges, many of which are presented in Patrick Buchanan's column:

Sequence of Events

1. August 11 -- a TV camera person accompanying a march happens to catch the episode of Fr. Bismarck Carballo being pulled into the street naked by the husband of the woman with whom the priest has been apparently sleeping over a period of time. The woman is also pulled into the street, with a sheet wrapped around her.

2. August 12 -- the newspapers appear with a note that the incident involving Fr. Carballo has been censored (Tomas Borge personally intervened to squelch the story, but the censorship notice served as a "teaser"); Fr. Carballo calls a press conference for LA PRENSA and the international press at which he announces that all this was staged as a way of discrediting the Church and that he was actually eating lunch with the woman.

3. August 13 -- given Fr. Carballo's version, the newspapers release their pictures and story, not sensitive to the religious sensitivities of many who were appalled to have the newspapers print pictures of a naked priest. Members of the Catholic Teachers Association and a number of Catholic high schools (all quite conservative) print a flyer calling for a work stoppage on the following Monday, as a protest against the treatment of Fr. Carballo and the Church.

4. August 16 -- the work stoppage takes place at the Salesiano School in Monimbo in the city of Masaya (and in several other schools apparently). In the afternoon, a group of MDN party youth and adults take over the Salesiano School and overrun a local police station and take the weapons. The police were under strict government orders not to use their weapons, in order to avoid any incident that might be used against the government. Consequently, the raid is successful. When members of the local Sandinista Youth group and some of the adults of the Monimbo community marched in protest against the MDN take-over of the school and against the work stoppage, they are fired upon, with 3 killed and 6 or 7 wounded. Finally, the police arrest 81 of the MDN people, only 9 of whom are from Monimbo/Masaya. Five Roman Catholic religious are taken to their respective embassies, pending an investigation of their involvement in the event. It was found that Salesian Father Jose Morataya, the principal of the school, was the person who had organized the work stoppage at his school, that he was aware of the planned MDN take-over but apparently unaware of any plans to take and use weapons, and that he had been involved in a number of "counterrevolutionary activities" previously (at a number of parent-teacher meetings he criticized the government and apparently on one occasion burned a Sandinista flag). As a citizen of Spain, he had his residence permit cancelled on August 25 and was forced to leave the country. The other four religious were allowed to leave their embassies and return to the school.

5. The Salesiano school remains closed for one week, then the elementary school and night school re-open. After a second week, the high school section re-opens (parents had been afraid to send their children back until the situation calmed down). The Salesian Fathers submit the name of the person they want to have replace Fr. Morataya as principal and the government accepts their recommendation (apparently this was one of the stipulations that emerged from an emergency meeting between the government and Salesians on August 22).

6. A special Mass is organized subsequently in Fr. Carballo's parish in Las Brizas (Managua) as a protest against his treatment. Some Sandinista Youth Members gather outside the church and engage supporters of Fr. Carballo in a shouting match after the Mass. The police form a path through the crowd to escort the Archbishop safely to his car. Someone inside the church throws a rock that hits someone outside, cutting their forehead. That triggers more rock-throwing, with one rock hitting the Archbishop's car and breaking the back window.

7. August 24 -- the Nicaraguan bishops issue a statement accusing the government of:
-- "ignoring the authority of the Church over its educational institutions"
-- "the complicity, at least passive, of government authorities in the occupation of Catholic schools by Sandinista groups"
-- "insults and defamation against Catholic institutions and teachers, some of them manhandled"
-- "attacks on bishops"
-- "one-sided and distorted version of events given by the pro-government

media while the Church was deprived of the use of the same communication tools for defending itself"
-- "an attack on Catholic education in general: "We cannot imagine how a new society can be built in Nicaragua without the role of the Church in Catholic education, which answers to the problems, aspirations and cultural traditions of our people. Should Catholic schools disappear, it would mean a great loss for civilization, the human person and the natural and supernatural destiny of man."

Observations/Judgments

1. There seems to have been absolutely no attack on or threat to Catholic education. The government wants and needs Catholic schools but will not tolerate the kind of excesses that occurred at the Salesiano school, with the apparent complicity of Fr. Morataya.

2. The term "counterrevolutionary activities" seems vague and could justify abuses of human rights. I was only told of Fr. Morataya's activities cited above. Given a situation in which the country is almost in a state of war (regular invasions from Honduras), it is understandable that the government would react the way it did. What might be hard for some to believe was the police restraint in Monimbo, even to the point of allowing one of its stations to be overrun and weapons seized. That is a sign of how much the government wants to avoid a confrontation with the Catholic Church.

3. No bishops have been attacked. The rock-throwing at the Las Brizas Church had nothing to do with the Archbishop. The auxiliary bishop who tried to take the tabernacle out of the Church of Santa Rosa in an earlier incident (the church from which Msgr. Arias Caldera was transferred over the protests of the parishioners) apparently slipped or was pushed by the parishioners who were trying to keep the tabernacle in the church. But he was not beaten, as some press reports have claimed. The bishop on the Atlantic Coast was never jailed, as the Archbishop's office has claimed. He himself admitted this. One incident occurred when he sent a message to the Archbishop saying that he had been "detained" on the Coast and would not be arriving in Managua as scheduled. This was apparently interpreted as being "jailed" but was denied by the bishop himself.

4. The government showed real restraint initially in the incident involving Fr. Carballo, by refusing to allow the papers to publish the story and pictures. However, the notice in the August 12 newspapers served as a "teaser". Further, when Fr. Carballo released his own version of the story, the newspapers failed to appreciate the peoples' sensitivities in the printing of the pictures.

5. Some Sandinista Youth members have verbally taunted some groups of conservative Christians -- the Mass at Las Brizas and a rally of charismatics at a high school. These actions are harassment, but they are not the work of the government, which is trying hard to avoid any confrontation or provocation of the Catholic Church -- knowing how such a confrontation or provocation will be used against it by the US government.

6. In a related incident, the government censors made a mistake in not letting LA PRENSA print its edited version of a letter from Pope John Paul II to the Nicaraguan Catholic bishops. The full version of the letter was printed in all 3 daily papers several days later, but the Nicaraguan bishops, the international press, and the US government had another incident to use against the Nicaraguan government.

US POLICY ON NICARAGUA

The following is a statement presented to us in June 1982 by the director of public affairs in the US embassy in Nicaragua. This two-page "Gist" as it is entitled, states that it is "a quick reference aid to US foreign relations, not a comprehensive policy statement -- Bureau of Public Affairs, Department of State". It was offered to us when we asked about US policy toward Nicaragua, as the best statement of US policy available through the US embassy:

THE US AND NICARAGUA April, 1982

Background: Toward the end of the Nicaraguan civil war, the OAS passed a resolution in June 1979 calling for "immediate and definitive replacement of the Somoza regime"; "guarantee of the respect for human rights of all Nicaraguans without exception"; and "the holding of free elections as soon as possible, that will lead to the establishment of a truly democratic government that guarantees peace, freedom and justice." In a letter to the OAS in July 1979, before assuming power, the Provisional Government of National Reconstruction promised to "install a regime of democracy, justice and social progress in which there is full guarantee for the right of all Nicaraguans to political participation and universal suffrage"; "guarantee the full exercise of human rights and fundemental freedoms"; and organize "a mixed economy".

The Sandinista leaders have reneged on these promises. They have ignored a basic tenet of the inter-American system--nonintervention in the affairs of other states--by providing material and other support for subversion in El Salvador and elsewhere. Nicaragua also is engaged in a rapid arms buildup which threatens the security of its neighbors. Rather than strengthening democracy, the Sandinistas have concentrated on consolidating political power, imposing heavy constraints on opposition activity and postponing elections. This trend led Eden Pastora, a founder and popular hero of the Sandinista movement, to break publicly with them in April 1982, accusing them of betraying their promises of freedom and progress. The economy has done poorly despite more than $125 million in US aid and several hundred million from other Western donors. Production is well below prerevolutionary levels. Largely because of the regime's hostility, private internal and external investment is almost nonexistent.

Intervention in El Salvador: Nicaragua is the support and command base for the Salvadoran guerrillas. Arms and supplies are received in Nicaragua and trans-shipped by land, air, and sea to El Salvador. The guerrillas' Unified Revolutionary Directorate has its headquarters near Managua; with the help of Cuban and Nicaraguan officers, it coordinates logistical support, including food, medicine, clothing, money, and munitions, and selects targets to be attacked. Salvadoran guerrillas move through Nicaragua to Cuba and elsewhere for training; some training is conducted in Nicaragua. The Sandinistas also provide support for leftist extremists in Guatemala, Honduras, and Costa Rica.

Military buildup: Nicaragua, with a population of 2.7 million, has expanded its active duty forces to 20,000-25,000 -- at least twice the size of Somoza's National Guard; reservists and militia exceed 50,000. To accommodate this force, the Sandinistas have built 36 new Cuban-designed military garrisons, in addition to 13 garrisons inherited from the National Guard. In contrast, Costa Rica has no standing army, and Honduras, with 1 million more people than Nicaragua, has total forces of about 17,500. Some 2,000 Cuban military and internal security advisers are in Nicaragua, and several hundred Nicaraguan military are training in Cuba. Sophisticated weapons, including Soviet-made

T-55 tanks, amphibious ferries, and transport aircraft, have been added to Nicaragua's arsenal. Airfields have been lengthened to handle MIG aircraft; Nicaraguan pilots are training in Eastern Europe. Recently, Nicaragua also has purchased rocket-launchers, helicopters, and patrol boats from France.

Attacks on pluralism: It is increasingly clear that the country is controlled by the Sandinistas' nine-member Directorate--all Marxists--and not by the government's official structures, the Coordinating Junta or Cabinet. The trend is toward a one-party state.

-- Elections have been postponed until at least 1985.
-- The respected, independent newspaper *La Prensa*, for years the voice of opposition to the Somozas, has been closed down repeatedly for carrying unwelcome news; *La Prensa* and independent radio news services are now heavily censored.
-- Archbishop Obando y Bravo was banned from performing mass on television, and the Catholic Church's radio was temporarily closed.
-- Independent political parties are harassed and denied permission to hold public rallies; their headquarters have been attacked by Sandinista-orchestrated mobs, and their leaders refused permission to travel abroad.
-- In October 1981, five leaders of COSEP, the umbrella private sector organization, were arrested and some jailed for 4 months, because they issued a statement criticizing official policy.
-- Cuban-style block committees have been set up to monitor political activities at the community level.
-- Three years after the Sandinistas took power, there are still some 4,200 political prisoners; allegations of political arrests and disappearances have increased.
-- Tightly controlled Sandinista labor and peasant organizations have been established.
-- The Sandinistas have engaged in a systematic destruction of the way of life of the isolated Miskito Indian tribe. At least 26 of their villages are now deserted -- most burned to the ground. Some 10,000 Miskitos have been detained in "relocation" centers, and as many as 12,000 have fled into Honduras.

US policy: While the US had shared the hopes for a pluralistic, nonaligned Nicaragua, we have been increasingly concerned with the deteriorating conditions and have repeatedly called "our concerns" to the Sandinistas' attention.

Assistant Secretary of State Enders went to Managua in August 1981 to meet with Nicaraguan leaders. Against the background of increasing restrictions on domestic dissent, the discussions focused on the regional security problems caused by Nicaragua's military buildup and arms supply to Salvadoran guerrillas. In exchange for Nicaraguan action on our concerns, the US offered resumption of economic aid and cultural/technical exchanges and assurances we would not aid groups seeking to overthrow the Nicaraguan Government. In March 1982, although the Sandinistas had demonstrated no willingness to address our concerns, Secretary Haig reaffirmed US willingness to discuss outstanding issues, and in April our Ambassador presented specific proposals to the Nicaraguan Government. The new eight-point US plan includes a proposed regional arrangement for arms limitations and international verification. We would welcome cooperation with a pluralistic Nicaragua committed to peace and friendship with its neighbors.

MY RESPONSE TO "THE US AND NICARAGUA" by James McGinnis

Based on our firsthand experience in Nicaragua, on interviews with both supporters and opponents of the Nicaraguan revolution, and on the reading we have done, we have concluded that the evaluation of Nicaraguan government policy in this statement is full of factual inaccuracies and misinterpretations of reality. Because this misinformation is used to justify US opposition to Nicaragua, it needs to be exposed for what it is. Space prevents an extensive line-by-line response, but every point can be challenged, if only in the innuendos contained in some of the vocabulary.

1. "Non-intervention in the affairs of other states" -- specifically in reference to El Salvador. Every piece of evidence the US has tried to produce to prove Nicaraguan involvement in El Salvador has backfired. In February 1982, the US embassy in Nicaragua was asked by a group of Church World Service personnel from the US about what was the most recent evidence the US had of Nicaraguan arms shipments to El Salvador. The answer given was April 1981. As of the fall of 1984, still no evidence has been found. When we asked the director of public affairs why the US has not revealed the evidence it still claims to have and why the US has not agreed to Nicaragua's invitation to send a joint team to monitor the supposed transfer areas, he replied: "If the arms are being shipped across on a Tuesday at a certain location and we go there on a Tuesday, they would have shipped them across somewhere else on Sunday. They're not dumb!" Finally, it is in reality the US that has massively intervened in El Salvador and now Honduras is intervening as well. Apart from the US own blatant disregard of the "basic tenet of the inter-American system," the US response to Honduras' clear intervention in El Salvador has been to provide it with more arms and more military training, to lengthen the runways of its airports to accommodate US aircraft to be used to intervene in Central America!

2. Nicaragua's "rapid arms buildup which threatens the security of its neighbors". The US is not trying to hide its massive arming of the Honduran military, which in turn is supporting the several thousand ex-Somoza National Guardsmen operating out of Honduras. Every week there are border crossings, in some cases major invasions in which Nicaraguan soldiers and civilians are killed. Add to this the admitted US policy of destabilizing the Nicaraguan economy, its allowing Nicaraguan exiles to conduct military exercises in Florida and California, and US participation in invasions and other activities directed at "unfriendly" governments in Latin America in the past 30 years, and it is obvious why there is an arms buildup in Nicaragua. But it is not one that threatens the security of its neighbors and it is not of the magnitude stated and implied in the US document (see #7 below).

3. The Sandinistas "consolidating political power... and postponing elections". The Sandinistas are definitely consolidating political power. They are determined to make the revolutionary process work and not allow the 50,000 persons who died in the Revolution to have died in vain. But they are not consolidating political power by eliminating their opposition, but primarily by the effectiveness of their efforts to meet peoples' needs and cope with the multiple crises confronting the country. The government seems to be tolerant of Church opposition, for instance, allowing opposition clergy to say practically anything from the pulpit. The government's commitment to literacy for every Nicaraguan is hardly consistent with stifling opposition, especially when viewed against Somoza's commitment to keeping the peasants illiterate as his explicit strategy for minimizing his opposition. A more literate peasantry is a less docile one. National elections were moved up to November 4, 1984, five years after the Revolution. This allowed time for the critical tasks of national reconstruction to have the full attention of the

country, time for educating an illiterate peasantry and for potential political leaders to demonstrate their real concerns toward the people. The first US elections were held in 1789, six years after the end of the Revolutionary War.

4. "The economy has done poorly despite... US aid" -- Somoza and his allies stripped the treasury clean and left the new government with a staggering $1.6 billion debt and a devastated country (massive bombing of Nicaraguan cities in the final weeks of the insurrection). There was no harvest that year, there was a shortage of trained personnel in the country, and some factory owners and plantation owners deliberately sabotaged their operations. Counterrevoluntionary invasions and economic sabotage deflect badly needed resources from economic reconstruction to national defense. The US refusal to sell badly needed spare parts to operate everything from Nicaragua's buses to the US-made sewing machines in its textile factories is reminiscent of how the US contributed to the economic crisis that undermined Salvador Allende's government in Chile in the early 1970's. Add to this the US blocking of loans to Nicaragua from international agencies, as well as the US cut-off of wheat shipments to Nicaragua (see footnote #7). One of the saddest aspects of this supposed US assistance is revealed in the US response to the devastating floods of May 1982. Yes, there is an economic crisis in Nicaragua, but not primarily of its own making. But the economy is rebuilding and peoples basic needs for food, shelter, health care, education, transportation are being met, at least minimally, in spite of US "aid".

5. "The regime's hostility to private internal and external investment" -- There has been no ceiling placed on profits in Nicaragua. There is no ceiling on the number of acres of land plantation owners can have, so long as they produce on that land. One private owner owns 50% of the sugar lands in the country and makes a good profit on his sugar exports. What he and other capitalists do not have in Nicaragua is the political power that goes along with economic wealth in a capitalist system. In Nicaragua, the private sector produces/controls some 75% (according to most estimates) of the country's wealth, but it does not have 75% of the political power in the country. The private sector had its representative in the Council of State, The Transitional National Legislative Body, as did each of the ten political parties in Nicaragua. But that was all. If private enterpise wants both profits and political power, Nicaragua is indeed a "hostile" environment. If private enterprise is willing to settle for profits alone, there is an open invitation to produce and profit in Nicaragua. The goal of a "mixed economy" (a combination of private enterprise and private farms, cooperatives, and state-controlled lands and industries) is being achieved.

6. Intervention in El Salvador -- See #1 above. The "support for leftist extremists" is interesting. These so-called "leftist extremists" in El Salvador and Guatemala, particularly, are the people -- people oppressed for generations, brutally repressed at the present moment, many of whom have taken up arms as a last resort in self-defense. Certainly Nicaragua would want to support them, just as US freedom-fighters would have supported their counterparts in the French Revolution shortly after the US's own revolution. But because of the position and power of the US -- just waiting for a shred of hard evidence to show that this support is taking the form of arms or personnel, as an excuse for an invasion of Nicaragua -- this support has to be confined more to what would be called "moral support".

7. Military buildup -- See #2 above. The figures used here I believe are inaccurate. Nicaraguan leaders I met with in 1982 were not willing to reveal the size of their regular army, though they implied that it was smaller than the 20,000-25,000 figure. On the other hand, the popular militia was closer

to 100,000 than to 50,000. But because of the escalating war, these figures were probably closer to 30,000 regular army and 100,000-150,000 popular militia by the fall of 1984. Why? Nicaraguans want to be able to defend their country. Everywhere you see the sign -- "A qualquier costo, cumpliremos con la patria" ("At whatever the cost, we will complete the country"). "2000 Cuban military"? 200 is the figure used by most Nicaraguans, although the Center for Defense Information's estimates are somewhat higher. Nicaraguans training in Cuba and armed with Russian weapons? Yes. They are prepared to defend their country and want the best weapons they can afford and from wherever they can get them. They would be as happy to buy them from the US, if the US would be willing to sell them. To imply, however, that Cuban training and Russian arms mean that Nicaragua is a satellite of Russia or a carbon copy of Cuba is totally false. The Nicaraguan revolution and its program of national reconstruction is vastly different from Russian communism and is distinct in many ways from the Cuban revolution and model. It is uniquely Nicaraguan.

Another indication is Nicaragua's desire to maintain its independence (or "diversify its dependence", as several leaders put it) is in the sources of its foreign aid. The overall picture of foreign aid to Nicaragua is revealing. According to Nicaraguan government statistics, between July 1979 and March 1982, the government received a total of some $1,550 million in foreign aid. $130 million of this was from Mexico, $75 million (or 5%) from the Soviet Union, and the largest amount from the international development banks. While the Russian amount is only 5% of the total, it has been most helpful. Within two weeks of the destruction of the hospital in Chinandega because of the floods, Russia transport planes had delivered an entire hospital -- building, equipment, and staff. Similarly, when the Reagan administration in May 1981 cancelled the $30 million in wheat shipments approved for Nicaragua by the Carter administration, the Russians stepped in and provided the wheat (which, most ironically, they had just received from the US). Overall, 49% of Nicaragua's aid comes from other Third World countries, 32% from First World countries (mostly Western Europeans) and 19% from Second World countries (Eastern Europe as well as the Soviet Union).

8. Attacks on pluralism (selected items only, because of space limitations)

a. Elections (see #3 above)

b. LA PRENSA - This is a complicated story and censorship is a difficult issue. LA PRENSA is not the voice of the people that is was before the Revolution, as the statement implies. Its commitment to the people, as represented by its editor Pedro Juanquin Chomorro (killed by Somoza in 1978), was continued after the Revolution by his brother, Xavier Chomorro. When Pedro's son and his mother felt LA PRENSA was becoming too supportive of the Revolution, they forced the brother to resign. 80% of the La Prensa staff went with Xavier Chomorro to start a new newspaper, EL NUEVO DIARIO. LA PRENSA's line is clearly in opposition to the Revolution now. It reflects US values and mores and seems bent on discrediting the government internationally. The censorship law forbids the publishing of lies and stories that cause economic damage (e.g. a story on a shortage of beans can lead to pànic buying and thereby intensify the shortage). The law is applied to stories that would embarrass the government and thus possibly jeopardize international support. Given the very real threats that the government faces and given the economic crisis it is struggling to overcome, some censorship makes sense -- although it provides an ideal weapon for those who oppose the government to call it totalitarian. Does the Revolution have a right to survive? Obviously. How far can it go to protect itself? That is a difficult question to answer. Where do you draw the line on "freedom of the press," especially when the particular press at issue seems committed to undermining the Revolution?

c. The Archbishop's Mass on TV -- What the government apparently stopped was airing only the Archbishop's Mass. They were willing to allow the Masses of the Archbishop and others to be televised. As with the censorship issue, this seems to be a "no-win" situation for the government.

d. "Cuban-styled block committees" -- These are the Sandinista Defense Committees. They are responsible for health, housing, sports, cultural activities, vigilance, and food distribution on each block. In terms of their "vigilance" function, they discourage crime and protect important neighborhood facilities (counterrevolutionary sabotage is a very real threat). To imply that this means "spying" and thus some kind of invasion of privacy, as the statement does, is to distort their reality. The adjective "Cuban-style" is meant to stir up all sorts of repressive images that are not borne out by the reality of the situation.

e. 4,200 political prisoners(see The chapter on "La Granta" in SOLIDARITY WITH THE PEOPLE OF NICARAGUA)

f. "Systematic destruction ... of the Miskito Indian tribe" -- This is perhaps the biggest lie of all. The Sandinistas made some very real mistakes in the first year or two regarding the Miskito people. They tried to integrate them into the national reality without understanding their language, culture, and historical situation of isolation from the rest of the country and their quite different colonial history. Many young Sandinistas overreacted to Miskito opposition to government policy. A few people -- Sandinista and Miskitos -- were regrettably killed in the process. However, the forced relocation of some 10,000 Miskito people away from the Honduran border is nothing like what the statement implies. Counterrevolutionary raids by ex-National Guardsmen based in Honduras increased in number and intensity in late 1981, culminating in a plan to "liberate" the northeast corner of the country -- in an operation known as "Red Christmas". Thousands of Miskito Indians living in that area were trapped and were being more and more used by the ex-National Guardsmen and some Miskito collaborators. A difficult military decision was made to relocate these people away from the border. It had to be done quickly and involved real hardships. Crops almost ready for harvesting and livestock were destroyed to prevent the counterrevolutionaries from taking them. In some cases the journey to new and much more productive land to the south took seven days. But hundreds of Sandinista volunteers helped to carry those possessions that could be transported. Women, children and the elderly were provided transportation whenever possible. In the relocation centers, the government provided all the food until the first harvest came in. The government provided homes, built schools and clinics, provided teachers and medical personnel -- at tremendous cost, given the serious limitation of resources in the country. But the government is trying to show the Miskito people (and the world) that it is sincere in its effort to improve the economic situation of the Miskitos and respect their cultural traditions. On the Atlantic Coast where the Miskito and two other Indian peoples as well as English-speaking Creole people live, the national literacy campaign was conducted in each of the native languages. Everyone we met who visited or worked in the relocation centers was impressed with what they saw and agreed that the government had no other choice in a very difficult situation. While the Catholic hierarchy issued an extremely critical document in February 1982, after rejecting government invitations to personally inspect the relocation centers, the Moravian bishop on the Atlantic Coast and many other religious leaders who work with Miskito people or who personally visited the relocation centers supported the government actions.

9. US Policy -- This paragraph is a classic "Catch 22". According to the director of public affairs in the US embassy, the US is unwilling to sit down with Nicaragua to negotiate a new relationship based on the eight points mentioned in the paragraph "until Nicaragua shows some willingness to change its activities in El Salvador. Nicaragua's relations with its neighbors is our primary concern in dealing with Nicaragua. Nothing else is really that critical". But the US apparently has no hard evidence of interventionary activities by Nicaragua in El Salvador and Nicaragua categorically denies such activities. As pointed out earlier, Nicaragua has offered to form a joint team to monitor the border, but the US dismisses the offer. When asked about the overflights by US intelligence planes over Nicaraguan territory, about the US intelligence ship in the Gulf of Fonseca between Nicaragua and El Salvador, and about the US allowing Nicaraguan exiles to conduct military exercises in Florida and California, he replied: "Maybe there are overflights, maybe there aren't". As to the training in Florida and California, he stated that is depends on how one interprets the law. The law forbidding such activities on US soil applies, he said, to exiles from countries "friendly to the US". He added that the law is applied when the foreign exiles are actually engaged in the process of invasion (the example he used was setting sail from New Orleans). We asked whether restricting such counterrevolutionary activities in the US might be a symbolic statement to Nicaragua that the US truly desired a cooperative relationship. His answer: "They'd just accuse us of something else. Besides, when two parties start from such different ideological positions, what expectations can you have for fruitful dialogue?" It seemed clear to us that he was indicating that the US government had no hope nor intention of pursuing negotiations with Nicaragua to establish a less hostile relationship.How hostile that relationship has become is illustrated by the five following elements or events of 1983 and 1984:

A. The Contadora peace process. In January 1983, the countries of Mexico, Venezuela, Panama and Colombia secured agreement with the Central American countries on twenty-one objectives calling for the establishment of democratic systems of government; for the reduction of current inventories of arms and military personnel; for the proscription of foreign military bases; for the reduction and eventual elimination of foreign military advisers and troops; for an end to support for subversion; and for adequate means of verification and control. The Reagan administration claims to support this political path to peace but its actions and even its words contradict that claim. On September 12, 1983, under Secretary of Defense, Fred Ikle gave a speech to the Baltimore Council on Foreign Affairs in which he clearly implies that the US goal is to see the government of Nicaragua overthrown:

> "We must prevent consolidation of a Sandinista regime in Nicaragua that would become an arsenal for insurgency, a safe haven for the export of violence. If we cannot prevent that, we have to anticipate the partition of Central America. Such a development would then force us to man a new military front-line of the East-West conflict, right here on our continent."

B. Invasion of Grenada. The October 1983 US invasion of Grenada made the possibility of a similar invasion of Nicaragua seem much less hypothethical, despite repeated Reagan administration denials.

C. Kissinger Commission Report. In January 1984, the Kissinger Commission provided a bi-partisan appearance for a reiteration of the Reagan analysis of and policy toward Nicaragua. As analyzed in the February 1984 issue of ENVIO:

With respect to Nicaragua, the Commission presents a two-track policy. On the one hand, economic, military and political pressure will be maintained with the goal of forcing the Nicaraguan government to abandon some of the basic goals of the revolution: we do not believe that it would be wise to dismantle existing incentives (sic) and pressures on the Managua regime except in conjunction with demonstrable progress on the negotiating front (p.116). On the other hand,direct military intervention could become politically viable if Reagan is re-elected or if the Salvadoran situation changes notably: as part of the backdrop to diplomacy, Nicaragua must be aware that force remains an ultimate recourse. The United States and the countries of the region retain this option.(p.119). The Kissinger Commission justifies this threat by alluding to Nicaragua's alleged role in the East-West conflict.

The Kissinger Commission report obviously embodies the true Reagan administration solution for Central America, a solution that the Contadora process has been ablt to fend off until now ... In response to this mediating role, the Kissinger Commission's position on Contadora is quite clear: the United States cannot use the Contadora process as a substitute for its own policies, because the interests and attitudes of these four countries are not identical, nor do they always comport with our own (p.120). Such a position does not rule out continued rhetorical support for Contadora and the use of that process to pressure Nicaragua, via the proposals of US regional allies, while the Reagan administration continues in practice to ignore Contadora's pleas not to fan the flames of war in Central America.

The Kissinger Commission was also eloquent in expressing the Reagan administration's attitude towards its Western European allies: "we should seek their political and diplomatic support where this is possible, and their restraint where it is not. We should strongly discourage their aiding the Sandinista regime, until it fundamentally changes course.(p.124). Serious respect for the views of those allies is not necessary, as they have only modest economic concerns and occasional residual involvements in the region, along with an inadequate grasp of the great questions of world security at stake (pp.123-24).

D. Escalation of manuevers and arming of Honduras. The US military manuevers in the area have escalated dramatically since 1982. The summer of 1983 saw several months of joint manuevers with Honduras involving US warships off both Central American coasts, 16,000 US military personnel including 5,000 ground troops. Big Pine II ended in February 1984 and"Grenadero I" began in April involving 5,000 US troops. Simultaneously, the US launched "Guardians of the Gulf", a surveillance "exercise" in the Gulf of Fonseca between El Salvador and Nicaragua; and "Ocean Venture 84", a massive maritime exercise in the Caribbean Sea involving 30,000 US military personnel in a practice invasion of the Puerto Rican island of Viesques, similar to a 1981 mock invasion that proved to be the practice run for the actual invasion of Grenada. With each new manuever has come additional military facilities in Honduras, additional weapons, and additional US troops on a seemingly permanent basis. This militarization of Honduras is well documented in both the May 1984 ENVIO and

E. Mining of Nicaraguan ports. More and more overt US support of the "contras" was coupled in February and March 1984 with CIA overseeing the placing of some 600 mines in Nicaraguan ports. US congressional outcry threatened continued funding of CIA involvement (the House of Representatives rejected further aid to the contras in May). Nicaragua's complaint to the International Court of Justice at the Hague was upheld, while the Reagan administration refused to recognize the jurisdiction of the Court.

US - USSR

RELATIONS

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OUTLINE OF THE CONTENTS

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- A. Imagining the Future
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STUDENT READINGS:

-- "A Perspective on East-West Relations" by Alan Geyer (I-B)
-- "Two Flags" Puppet Play by Camy Condon (III)
-- "An Agenda for Improving Relations between the US & the USSR by George Kennan (IV-B)

TEACHER DIRECTIONS

INTRODUCTION: This unit was as difficult to write as it is important. Many people and groups are writing about the Soviet Union, and attitudes are extremely polarized. According to scholars and analysts of Soviet-American relations, the stakes are high and getting higher with every round of the arms race. The Center for Defense Information defines the problem in the following way:

> "The United States and the Soviet Union are traditional antagonists. Habit and custom have encouraged rivalry and suspicion. Sporadic attempts over the past thirty years at placing limits on their nuclear competition have essentially failed. Relations have consistently worsened since the mid-1970s. With the election of Ronald Reagan in 1980, many Americans, in fear of alleged US weakness, gave their endorsement to a US military buildup and a tougher anti-Soviet foreign policy. Today the danger of war between the two countries may be higher than any time since the Cuban missile crisis.... The first priority now should be for leaders of the US and the Soviet Union to talk together and clarify their perceptions and intentions". (From THE DEFENSE MONITOR, Vol. 13, No. 2, 1984, p. 1)

It is the purpose of this unit to provide some understanding of the traditional antagonism between the two super powers, to clarify for ourselves the perceptions and intentions of each nation toward the other, to separate myth from reality and to sensitize students to the realities of the lives of their counterparts in the Soviet Union today.

FOR TEACHERS OF ELEMENTARY STUDENTS:
The emphasis of the material for elementary students is more on learning about the Soviet Union--its people, culture and history, than on the more complex issues of the Cold War and the statistical data of the arms race. It is hoped that by using material such as stories and music children will develop a sense of commonality with Soviet children and that by involvement in some of the projects recommended they will develop a sense of hope for the future. A recent study of Soviet children's attitudes indicates a greater hopefulness for the future than that indicated by US children which is due to their participation in activities in school: "They circulate peace petitions, create a good-will art projects, raise money for a peace fund, and send letters to international friendship clubs. All of this gives them a sense of impact". (Eric Chivian quoted in Fellowship magazine, Jan./Feb. 1984, p. 28). "We need to give our children this sense of impact".

Most of the activities in the first section (Understanding the Soviets) are appropriate for elementary students with the exception of the Geyer article which might be difficult for some students, but which the teacher should read and use as background. The puppetry activities are especially good for giving children a general understanding of the concepts involved (the Arms Race, Two Flags, etc.).

FOR TEACHERS OF SECONDARY STUDENTS(and older):
We recommend doing at least one of the introductory activities in "Understanding the Soviets" as a starter and definitely reading the Geyer article for background on both the history and the arms race. A film or filmstrip should be used early in the unit to give students a visual image of people and nation. Music is also very good for a starter. The main focus for older students is dispelling the myths or misunderstandings they may have

already developed about the USSR. Older students also need to get involved in order to feel a sense of impact and a writing or sharing project could help, as well as political action on issues. The differing US Perspectives reading is another essential focal point for analyzing current attitudes and policies. Again the final section on Action Possibilities can help give students a sense of hope and the Kennan Agenda at the end is a hopeful perspective on the future.

This unit overlaps with the unit on "War and Alternatives", the "Military Industrial Complex" and "US Foreign Policy".

In Relation to Other EPJ Volumes

Volume III: Religious Dimensions is especially appropriate for teachers in the section on religious educational settings. See patriotism in "Gospel-Culture Contrasts" and "Peace and War" units for expanding on concepts, especially those concerning religious influence on foreign policy.

SPECIAL RESOURCES

Bibliographies

-- The September/October 1980 issue of THE CONVERSION PLANNER is a special issue on "Countering the New Cold War" with an extensive bibliography of books and magazine articles; from SANE.

-- Imported Publications, Inc. (320 West Ohio St., Chicago, IL 60610) imports books on many subjects, including social science, history, geography, science, etc. from the USSR and other socialist and developing countries.

-- Ground Zero's Educational Materials for Secondary School includes a 4 page bibliography of books available in paperback. (The Ground Zero Resource Center, P.O. Box 19329, Portland, OR 97219).

-- Fellowship of Reconciliations US-USSR RECONCILIATION DIRECTORY ($1) (From FOR, Box 271, Nyack, NY 10960) lists a number of recommended books on contemporary and historic Russia, as well as many projects and initiatives.

For General Information and Pictures

-- CAMBRIDGE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF RUSSIA AND THE SOVIET UNION, a new and very comprehensive reference book on all areas of Russian and Soviet Life.

-- McDowell and Conger, JOURNEY ACROSS RUSSIA: THE SOVIET UNION TODAY, a National Geographic book with fine pictures, maps and up to date info, 1977.

-- Edwards, Lovett, RUSSIA AND HER NEIGHBORS, Franklin Watts Library, 1966 (for younger students).

For Teacher and Older Student Background Reading

-- Arbatov, Georgi, THE SOVIET VIEWPOINT, Dodd, Mead and Co. 1983, interviews with Soviet expert on American affairs on US-USSR relations since 1917, the Arms Race, Human Rights and other issues.

-- Barnet, Richard, THE GIANTS: RUSSIA AND AMERICA, a contemporary analysis of US-Soviet affairs, by former government specialist.

-- Brown, Dale, ed., WHAT ABOUT THE RUSSIANS, A CHRISTIAN APPROACH to US-SOVIET CONFLICT, (The Brethren Press, Elgin, IL., $6.95, 1984) a collection of essays by recent travellers in USSR and by students of US-USSR affairs.

-- Ground Zero, WHAT ABOUT THE RUSSIANS AND NUCLEAR WAR, 1983, inexpensive and easy to read summary of Communism, Soviet history and the arms race.

-- Holloway, David, THE SOVIET UNION AND THE ARMS RACE, Yale U., 1983.

-- Kennan, George, THE NUCLEAR DELUSION: SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS IN THE ATOMIC AGE, Pantheon, 1982, a collection of essays and speeches by long-time Soviet affairs specialist.

-- Pipes, Richard, SURVIVAL IS NOT ENOUGH, in publication, 1984, a new book by a former National Security Advisor and Soviet specialist who takes a hard line approach to US-USSR relations.

-- Smith, Hedrick, THE RUSSIANS, Quadrangle Press, 1976, a very informative book about contemporary life in the USSR.

-- Wolfe, Alan, THE RISE AND FALL OF THE SOVIET THREAT: DOMESTIC SOURCES OF THE COLD WAR THREAT, from The Institute for Policy Studies, 1980 (part of a series, write for listing).

-- FELLOWSHIP magazine, Jan/Feb. 1984 issue focuses on US/USSR relations, especially reports from citizens who have recently visited USSR.

-- TIME magazine, June 23, 1980, special issue "Inside the USSR" devoted to current life and politics in USSR.

-- THE MILITARY CAPABILITIES AND POLICY OF THE USSR (the Institute for Defense and Disarmament Studies, 251 Harvard St., Brookline, MA 02146, 1981) gives a balanced picture of the strengths and weaknesses of Soviet military forces.

-- US AND SOVIET "FIRST-STRIKE" CAPABILITIES(Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy) an 8-page resource comparing US-Soviet nuclear arsenals.

-- CLOSE UP SPECIAL FOCUS: US-SOVIET RELATIONS, from the Close-Up Foundation, a non-profit, multipartisan organization which publishes books on governmental processes and foreign and domestic policy issues; 1235 Jefferson Davis Highway, Arlington, VA 22202, also available: CURRENT ISSUES 1985 which will cover Soviet Union, defense and nuclear proliferation as some of its issues.

-- GREAT DECISIONS, from the Foreign Policy Association, publishes a new resource book each year on eight topics in Foreign affairs. Many of these deal with US-Soviet relations.

Alternative sources of classroom activities:

Condon, Camy, PUPPETS FOR PEACE from the Institute for Peace & Justice, especially good for younger children.

--CHOICES, "A Unit on Conflict and Nuclear War", from NEA and the Union of Concerned Scientists, 1983. For Junior High level.

PERSPECTIVES, a Teaching Guide to Concepts of Peace, by Educators for Social Responsibility, 1983, for all grade levels, deals with conflict resolution, images of the enemy, peacemaking of all kinds.

Ground Zero, FIREBREAKS GAMES I and II, simultations of US-USSR confrontations, New: GLOBAL CHALLENGE, for Junior High School deals with US-Soviet relations and arms control in debate format. Also new elementary and secondary curriculum on the Soviet Union.

Fellowship of Rconciliation: US-USSR RECONCILIATION PROGRAM, has a list of projects for students to become involved with people in Soviet Union by means of photographs, artwork, writing, etc.

SOVIET LIFE MAGAZINE, written in English by Soviet authors, available from USSR Embassy, 1706 18th St., NW, Washington, DC 20009 (There is a US counterpart printed in Russian for Soviet consumption call AMERIKA).

"USSR: A NEW GENERATION SPEAKS" is a set of four filmstrips and books of student reading (from Prentice-Hall Media, Inc.) that present, according to the publisher's description, "an intimate view of the Soviet people revealed through excerpts from prose, poetry, essays, letters, diaries, and articles."

Write for the "Global Education Catalog" of the Social Studies Schools Service (P.O. Box 802, Culver City, CA 90230) which describes a number of resources on the Soviet Union.

For regular updating

-- THE DEFENSE MONITOR of the Center for Defense Information is the best monthly source for the military and some of the political dimensions of the relationship.

-- THE NATION offers a bi-weekly analysis of a range of global issues, including this one, from the "left".

-- The Institute for Soviet-American Relations, 2738 Mckinley St., NW, Washington, DC 20015 has a Handbook of Organizations Involved in Soviet American Relations and publishes newsletter called "Surviving Together".

US-USSR RELATIONS

GOALS

To awaken interest in finding out more about the people of the USSR as a tiny step toward defusing the rush toward nuclear war.

To gain some initial insight into Soviet and American political and military concerns by examining and evaluating a variety of perspectives.

To help students evaluate sources of information, begin to see why "facts" are often distorted for political purposes, and find alternative sources of information.

I. UNDERSTANDING THE SOVIETS

In her book, THE MARCH OF FOLLY (1983) historian, Barbara Tuchman says:

> "Know your enemy", is the most important precept in any adversary relationship, but it's the peculiar habit of Americans; when dealing with the Red Menace, to deal from ignorance". (p.305)

It is the purpose of this section to try to correct this habit.

A. The Country (for all levels)

1. Preconceptions

-- Brainstorm with the students the words "Communism", "Russia" and "Soviet" to see what preconceptions they have. Do not try to correct all of these at this time.

-- Ask students to list ways in which they think the US and the Soviet Union are alike and different.

-- Give the following True-False Quiz before students do any reading or study: Teachers may adapt this list to age and level of their students, perhaps adding more specific questions. Answers may be provided immediately or left for student to find out during further studies, followed by a post-test. GROUND ZERO has developed a 30-question True-False test for Junior and Senior High students in its package on the Soviet Union and US-Soviet Relations.

TRUE-FALSE QUIZ

___1. The Soviet Union is larger in area than the US.
___2. The population of the Soviet Union is greater than that of the US.
___3. The citizens of the Soviet Union are called Russians.
___4. The language of most of the citizens of the Soviet Union is Russian.
___5. Most Russians are Communists.
___6. Soviet citizens do not believe in God and are not allowed to attend church.
___7. Russian children are raised by the state.(government)
___8. The Soviet Union has more strategic nuclear weapons than the US.
___9. The Soviet Union controls all other communist countries.
___10. The Soviets cannot be trusted to keep treaty agreements.

Answers are given on the following page. Ask students which answers were new or surprising to them, and if their opinions or impressions of the USSR are any different after learning these answers.

ANSWERS TO TRUE-FALSE QUIZ

1. True. The Soviet Union is approximately 2½ times the size of the US.
2. True. The population of the Soviet Union is approximately 270 million to the US 230 million.
3. False. The correct name for citizens of the Soviet Union or USSR is Soviets; only citizens of the RSFSR(the Russian Republic) are Russians (about 52% of the population); another 20% are related to the Slavic groups like Ukranians and Belorussians. There are many other ethnic groups living in the 15 republics, such as Georgians, Kazaks, Yakuts, Estonians, etc.
4. True and False. Although the official language is Russian, most of the many ethnic groups have their own native tongue, and must be taught Russian in school as a foreign language. In many parts of the USSR, Russian is not commonly spoken.
5. False. As of 1980, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union had 16 million members, 6.2 percent of the population. Membership in the Party is not open to everyone. (from Ground Zero, WHAT ABOUT THE RUSSIANS?)
6. False. Althoug atheism is the official policy of the Communist Party and is taught in schools, several church groups are allowed to operate in the country, in particular, the Russian Orthodox Church which claims 30 million church-goers. Other churches like the Baptists seem to be on the upswing.
7. False. Children are raised by parents as in the US. Very young children of working parents may be put into state-run nurseries or daycare facilities during working hours, or may be kept at home and watched over by "babushki"(grandmas). Children with special talents may be recruited for special training schools away from home and may live there, but most attend school in local communities.
8. False. According to the Center for Defense Information, the US leads in total number of stragegic weapons with approximately 13,000; the USSR with 8500.
9. False. See the reading and charts on Soviet influence below. Although the Soviet Union exercises control in the Warsaw Pact countries of Eastern Europe, many communist countries, including China, Yugoslavia, Albania, and Cuba, are essentially independent.
10. False. The USSR has observed all treaties regarding nuclear weapons with what is considered to be a good record. These include the following:
    - 1963 - Limited Test Ban Treaty
    - 1967 - Treaty prohibiting nuclear weapons in outer space.
    - 1968 - Non-Proliferation Treaty
    - 1972 - SALT I Treaty
    - 1972 - Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty
    - 1979 - SALT II Treaty (non-ratified by US)

Note that the current Reagan initiative for weapons in space threatens to break some of these treaties.

B. Geography and History (For all levels)

1. Using maps of the US and USSR, have students study the geography of both countries, noting relative sizes, locations, proximity of friendly and unfriendly nations, access to water routes. Point out the similar federal structure and division of the nations into units (states and republics). Help students to understand that different ethnic groups inhabit the republics of the USSR. The Soviet government has the task of unifying these unique and widespread nationalities under one structure, while still allowing some autonomy and room for diversity.

2. Students might research and compare the way in which the Soviet Union (and previously Tsarist Russia) expanded and increased its territories with the way in which the US expanded (Manifest Destiny, removal of Indians, wars, etc.)

3. Have students consider the Soviet's (and Tsarist Russia's) history of war and invasion. See A Short History of Invasions of the Soviet Union and the US below:

-Ask students: Do they feel the Soviet fear of invasion is justified?
  -How did the US contribute to this fear in its relation with Soviets after the 1917 revolution? Since World War II?(see next section)
  -In what ways might the US try to reduce these fears?

A SHORT HISTORY OF INVASIONS OF THE SOVIET UNION AND THE US

1236-1380	Mongols conquer and rule Russia.
1610	Polish invaders capture Moscow.
1812	In June, 650,000 French troops under Napoleon march into Russia; in September, they capture Moscow.
1905	Japan defeats Russia, which loses a strategic port and its Baltic fleet.
1914-1917	World War I: Germany invades Russia, inflicting severe defeats. Five months after the outbreak of the Russian Revolution, Allied intervention begins, by 14 countries, including the United States.
1941-1945	World War II: Germany invades the Soviet Union. Twenty million Soviet people--soldiers and civilians--are killed. A third of the land, including nearly two-thirds of the industrial base, is turned into a wasteland; thousands of cities and villages are destroyed.

Compare this history of war and invasion to that of the United States. The only foreign "invasion" on this part of the continent was by the European colonists; the only major wars fought on US soil against foreign troops were the American Revolution and the War of 1812; the last war fought within our borders, the Civil War, happened over a hundred years ago.

Compare also the current geographical situations of the United States and the Soviet Union. The United States is bordered by only two countries, Mexico and Canada, and they are both friendly to us. In contrast, the Soviet Union shares about half of its southern border with China, and there is great animosity between the two countries. To the west of the Soviet Union, separated by the relatively narrow corridor of Warsaw Pact nations, are the NATO forces of Western Europe, whose troops and missiles are poised toward the east.

(from the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 1980)

Challenging Cold War Attitudes and Myths

-- Teachers, Junior and Senior High students should read Alan Geyer's article (pp. 229) "Perspective On East-West Relations" which discusses similarities, differences, and myths.

-- Compare what Geyer says with student list of similarities, differences, and with result of TRUE-FALSE QUIZ.

-- Compare what Geyer says about the "messianic identity" with Reagan's speech

-- We often criticize the Soviets for not fulfilling the prophesy of "equality" and the "classless society"--have students consider in what ways the US has fallen short of these goals as well.

--What actions or attitudes in American society seem anti-political or anti-government? (students might consider apathy in voting, demonstrations, skepticism or disbelief of government pronouncements, etc.)

-- Examine the anti-militarist heritage of the US isolationism, war resistance, pacifism throughout our history. Find out what groups and individuals have been involved. (see Personal Survey on Fighting and War on p. 279)-- Research Marxist-Leninist attitudes toward war and militarism.
For more activities dealing with the Myths, see the next two sections of this unit: "Understanding the Cold War" and "Understanding the Arms Race."

C. The People In order to better understand the actions of the Soviet Union and the fears of its people, we need to find opportunities to get to know the people and their heritage.

For Elementary Children

1. Read some Russian and Soviet Short stories (one source is Miriam Morton's A HARVEST OF RUSSIAN CHILDREN'S LITERATURE) to find out what kind of lives children lead in the Soviet Union. Some of the classic Russian fairytales have the same themes as those which American children read: It is important to know that Soviet children have some of the same heritage as ours. Beautifully illustrated and inexpensive English editions of some of the Russian fairy tales are available from Imported Publications and in some book stores. (see resources)

2. Play some Russian or Soviet music. If possible obtain a recording of the song "Let There Always Be Sunshine" Translation of words is given below:

Verse 1:
A round sun, with sky all around
This is the child's drawing.
He drew it on the board and wrote
this underneath in the corner:
CHORUS:
V.2:
My dear friend, my good friend,
People want peace so badly
That even after 35 years
Their hearts don't tire of repeating:

V.3: Be quiet soldier, listen soldier
People are afraid of the bombs
A thousand eyes look to the sky
And lips stubbornly call out:
CHORUS
V.4: Against hardship, against war
We stand behind our youngsters,
Let the sun be forever,
Let happiness last forever,
Mankind orders it:

CHORUS: Let there always be Sunshine, Let there always be blue sky,
Let there always be Mama, Let there always be ME!

-- Discuss the feelings about war in the song. Ask students how they feel about war and fighting. Ask how they feel about Russians and their attitud s after hearing this song (see also "Do the Russians Want War?" by Yevtushenko This would be a good time to explain to young children some of the war history of the USSR, and the fact that every major town in the USSR has a memorial to the soldiers of W.W.II with an eternal flame, which Young Pioneers are given the responsibility of guarding. The horror of war is thus kept very much alive for them.

3. Get copies of SOVIET LIFE MAGAZINE (a Life magazine type publication written in English by Soviets, and available from USSR Embassy, 1706 18th St. NW, Washington, DC 10009) and have children look at pictures and articles and decide whether they support some of the "stereotypes" about the Russians. It would be interesting to have students compare the types of stories and images which each country wants the other to have of it.

4. FLAGS: Put Russian and US flags (from UNICEF store) in the classroom as symbol of desire for peace and friendship and a reminder to work for peace.

5. Obtain GROUND ZERO's ELEMENTARY SCHOOL EDUCATIONAL PACKAGE OF SOVIET GEOGRAPHY, LANGUAGE, CULTURE AND CHILDREN (includes Children's stories, articles about Soviet kids, etc.)

6. PICTURES: A poster of Russian children for classroom or home is available from the Fellowship of Reconciliation. A whole set of posters called FORBIDDEN FACES is also available from them. A 3"x 5" picture of Russian children is available from the Pax Center. These are all good reminders of our common humanity.

National Geographic's A JOURNEY ACROSS RUSSIA: THE SOVIET UNION TODAY has wonderful pictures of children from all over the USSR. Use to show variety of peoples and ethnic groups as well as common humanity of all.

7. FILMS: Intersection Associates has a videotape entitled WHAT SOVIET CHILDREN ARE SAYING ABOUT NUCLEAR WEAPONS. This would be valuable to use in connection with or in contrast to IN THE NUCLEAR SHADOW. These would probably be best used with upper elementary, junior and senior high students. From Educational Film & Video Project (see "War and Peace" unit for further info.).

8. PUPPET PLAYS: Older elementary and junior high students could put on a play entitled FRIENDS AND ENEMIES from Camy Condon's PUPPETS FOR PEACE available from The Institute for Peace and Justice. (Another puppet play, TWO FLAGS, is reproduced below in connection with the section on the Cold War).

9. GET INVOLVED with one of the following projects:
-- SEEDS OF HOPE project from Fellowship of Reconciliation-send a message of hope and marigold seeds in a special packet to the Soviet people and also to Congressional Representatives.

-- WORLD AT PEACE art project - also from FOR, a project designed for students for Kindergarten through college to send are work as a gift to students in same grade in the USSR.

-- WRITER's PROJECT - another FOR project in which students are invited to write stories, poems essays, or letters of no more than 200 words on the theme "Why I Want Peace for You". For further information on all of the above, write for FOR'S US-USSR RECONCILIATION PROGRAM PROJECTS SHEET.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

10. PAIRING PROJECTS: Try one of the following for pen-pals :

-- Institute for Peace and Justice Russian Pairing Project, which is being arranged through the Soviet Peace Council by Tony Barbaro, 44 Main St., Binghamton, NY 13905.

-- Russian Pen Friend Project, International Friendship League, 22 Batterymarch St., Boston, Mass. 02109 (only ages 19-35 available, $5 fee).

-- Kids US/USSR Letters Project: Kids meeting kids can make a difference, a newly formed organization will forward letters of American children, ages 7-15 to children of like ages in the Soviet Union. Soviet children will respond directly to the writer. Send letters to Kids Meeting Kids Can Make A Difference, Box BH, 380 Riverside Dr, NY, NY 10025. Include return address and age on envelope.

-- Ground Zero - Global Ladder: Ground Zero is beginning a new outreach program called "GLOBAL LADDER" to try to link students in the two countries through the sending of simple letters in English and Russian. They have a GLOBAL LADDER ORGANIZING HANDBOOK to help teachers prepare such letters. From GROUND ZERO PAIRING PROJECT, P.O. Box 19049, Portland, OR 97219. (see Section 4 on the Future of Soviet-American Relations for more ideas)

For Junior and Senior High

1. Ground Zero has prepared a Secondary School Educational Package on the SOVIET UNION AND US/SOVIET RELATIONS including information on Soviet Teenage Life, Soviet perspectives on life in the US and other material.

2. Older students would also benefit from letter exchanges and from the projects conducted by the Fellowship of Reconciliation (see above).

3. Films/Filmstrips: THE USSR: A NEW GENERATION SPEAKS,or WAR W/O WINNERS II, could be shown to older students to get a feel for the attitudes of Soviet citizens. Teachers might follow up by having students "respond" to statements they have heard on film or role-play an encounter between a Soviet and an American. If videotape equipment is available, students could make their own film on how a new generation of Americans thinks about the arms race, and US-Soviet relations.

-- Students could conduct their own survey of American attitudes toward the Soviets, and compare them with those expressed by Soviets in the above films. Analyze recent movies for attitudes toward Russians especially MOSCOW ON THE HUDSON, RED DAWN, (not so recent: THE RUSSIANS ARE COMING! and DOCTOR STRANGELOVE) compare with older films like NIGHTMARE IN RED.

-- The movie, MOSCOW DOESN'T BELIEVE IN TEARS is described in The Other Side magazine as "one of the most honest, fascinating portraits of contemporary Soviet life (both the bad and the good") . It is available for rental ($350) from IFEX Films, 201 W. 52nd St., NY, NY 10019, but might be available from local video or AV sources, or be playing locally. Some older movies produced in the Soviet Union such as BALLAD OF A SOLDIER are often available on loan, and can be good to give students a better understanding of the Soviet experiences with war.

II. UNDERSTANDING THE COLD WAR

Upper Elementary, Junior and Senior

A. Attitudes toward one another: Although some of these were examined in the previous section, this section is designed to focus more on "official" attitudes, rather than those of the ordinary citizen.

1. Articles: Have students bring in articles from magazines and newspapers which reflect our present attitudes towards the Soviet Union and other Communist nations. Have students identify the attitudes, perhaps sorting them according to sympathetic, unsympathetic, hostile, etc. (see TIME Magazine, June 23, 1980).

-- Examine articles for "loaded" or "biased" words and phrases. (To give students some background on this activity, see the unit on Propaganda in the War-Peace unit of this manual. Another source of activities is PERSPECTIVES by ESR,(pp. 225-234).

-- Teach students to look for the source of the article and how to determine if the author is a knowledgeable and/or objective reporter. See "Four Different Perspectives on Soviet Union" for an example.

-- Teach students to recognize difference between fact and opinions.

For a similar activity, see Point-Counterpoint section in NICARAGUA unit.

2. Cartoons: Over the last 40 years the Cold War has been the subject of innumerable Editorial Cartoons. Teachers could xerox some of these from library collections, and have students trace the attitudes, and changes in attitudes throughout the years. (These could be tied in with the time-line on Cold War events explained later in this section). See the CARTOON HISTORY OF US FOREIGN POLICY from the Foreign Policy Association (p. 122) for examples. Some comic-strip cartoonists have also dealt with the US-Soviet game and are interesting to read and analyze. (One in particular that comes to mind is POGO by Walt Kelly)

3. Music: Similarly, many contemporary musicians have written about the US-USSR Relationship, the arms race, and mutual attitudes. Have students listen to the Joan Baez-Bob Dylan hit, "With God on our Side"(on JOAN BAEZ--THE FIRST 10 YEARS, Vanguard) and discuss the attitudes reflected in it. This would be good to do before or after reading Pres. Reagan's remarks about the Soviet Union (in Four Perspectives section). Other popular songs recorded by artists like Bob Dylan, Joan Baez, Peter, Paul and Mary, John Lennon and Paul McCarthy that deal with war and peace would be good starters for discussion. A recent song and video, IT'S A MISTAKE, by Men at Work, deals with an accidental nuclear war in a semi-humorous way and might be a good way to get students involved in this discussion.

4. Poetry: For contrast, use the words to the poem by Soviet poet, Yevtushenko, below and which have also been recorded, entitled DO THE RUSSIANS WANT WAR? (1961). Ask students if they believe the sentiments in the poem to still be accurate. Tie this in with the previous look at Russian history of war and invasion. (Section I,B).

Do the Russian want war?
Ask the silence above the pastures and fields;
Ask the birches, the poplars.
Go ask the soldiers who now lie under those
birches,
and their sons will tell you whether the
Russians want war.
Not only for their country did the soldiers
die in that war;
They died so that the world over people could
sleep in peace.
To the rustling of leaves and placards
You sleep, New York, you sleep, Paris.
Let your dreams tell you whether the Russians
want war.
Yes, we know how to wage war,
But we don't want soldiers to fall again in
battle onto the sad earth.
Go ask the mothers; ask my wife.
And then surely you'll know whether the
Russians want war.

- Y. Yevtushenko, 1961

Discussion Questions

1. What answers would you expect from the people identified in Yevtushenko's poem?

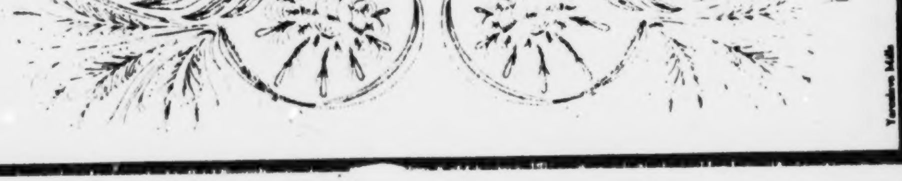
2. Are Soviet fears legitimate? In the discussion of this question, you might add the following sentence from Barnet's essay, "A Look at the Russian Threat", p.17:

> "Every missile in the world not located inside the Soviet Union is aimed at the Soviet Union - those of China, Britain, France, as well as the US. Russia is the only country in the world surrounded by hostile communist powers."

3. What would you do, if you were Soviet leaders, about the military comparisons? Why would the placing of new nuclear missiles in West Germany be so upsetting to the Soviet Union? How did the US react when the Soviet Union tried to install nuclear missiles in Cuba in 1962?

4. Compare the "Bay of Pigs" invasion of Cuba (a hostile country only 90 miles from Florida) with the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan? For which were there more reasons (if any) and why?

МИР И ДРУЖБА
США И СССР



FOR Fellowship of Reconciliation
Box 271, Nyack, NY 10960
US-USSR RECONCILIATION PROGRAM

B. HISTORICAL ROOTS: ORIGINS OF THE COLD WAR

1. Friends or Enemies?

-- For Elementary Level: Do the "FRIENDS AND ENEMIES" Puppet Play from Camy Condon's PUPPETS FOR PEACE. Discuss with students what they have discovered about US-USSR relations since World War II. Perhaps follow up with Time-Line activity below adapted for level of students.

-- Junior and Senior High: Have students make a time-line showing some major confrontations and efforts to improve relations between the US and the USSR since 1945. Be sure to include some of the following events. These might be listed for younger students to be sorted into positive (attempts at cooperation) and negative (confrontation, conflict).

Confrontations

Marshall Plan (1947)
Soviets Takeover Czechoslovakia (1948)
Berlin Blockade (1948)
Formation of NATO (1949)
Korean War (1950-53)
Warsaw Pact formed (1955)
U-2 Incident (1960)
Cuban Missile Crisis (1962)
USSR invades Czechoslovakia (1968)
Invasion of Afghanistan (1979)
Olympic Boycotts (1980 & 1984)

Treaties and Agreements(on arms)

Antarctic Treaty (1959)
Hot Line Agreement (1963)
Outer Space Treaty (1967)
Non-Proliferation Treaty (1968)
Seabed Arms Control Treaty (1968)
SALT I Agreement on Offensive Arms (1972)
Prevention of Nuclear War Agreement (1973)
Anti-Ballistic Missile Protocol(1974)
Threshhold Test Ban Treaty(1974)
Geneva Protocol (1975)
SALT II Offensive Arms Treaty (1979)

Teachers or students may wish to add more to the above lists. Then do the following:

a. Decide in the confrontation examples, who was considered the "aggressor" in world opinion?

b. Did either country "win" in the examples of confrontation given? For how long?

c. Which actions appear to be reactions to something done by the other side? (may require further research)

d. At what times did attempts at diplomacy follow confrontations (ex. US-USSR "hot line" set up after Cuban Missile Crisis)

e. Why have some attempts at diplomacy failed? (example: Paris peace talks scuttled due to U-2 incident) or Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and effects on SALT II)

f. Some periods of cooperation have been credited to certain US administrations: the period of 1963-66 has been called a time of "peaceful coexistence" and the early 1970s the era of "detente". Have students find out who the Presidents were during these periods, what actions and attitudes on the part of their administrations made these periods of cooperation possible, and why these periods ended?

g. Zbiegniew Brzezinski (quoted in Barnet, THE GIANTS) called the period of1963-68 the "cresting of US globalism" due to American actions in Vietnam and support for revolutions in Brazil, Greece, Indonesia, etc. Have students research these actions and determine how they contributed to the "Cold War".

h. For further research, find out how the US and USSR have cooperated in areas other than arms control: as of Jan. 1983, 166 bilateral treaties were in force in areas such as agriculture, aviation, health, space, atomic energy, drugs, and others. (From the Dept. of State's Treaties in Force.)

2. A Soviet View of the Origins of the Cold War:

Some historians date the beginning of the Cold War to the Soviet rejection of Marshall Plan aid and the subsequent hardening of the division between eastern and western Europe. Americans tend to contribute this to the Soviet desire to take advantage of a weakened Europe and begin on a path to eventual world conquest. The following quotes are taken from THE SOVIET VIEWPOINT by Georgi Arbatov and Willem Oltmans, in which Mr. Arbatov, a student of US affairs, presents the Soviet point of view on the origins of the Cold War and subsequent events:

> "As seen from Moscow, the Cold War started much earlier (than the Marshall Plan). By the spring of 1945, some weeks prior to the end of World War II, we noticed changes in American policies. President Harry S. Truman took a different position from Roosevelt in many areas of Soviet-American relations. Lend-lease supplies were abruptly terminated the very day the war ended, and some ships already on the way to the USSR were turned back. The promise of a massive reconstruction loan was broken. And, of course, there was the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, which in our view was not the last salvo of World War II, but rather the first one heralding the Cold War. It was fired to intimidate both the enemy and the ally. Or, as Secretary of War, Henry Stimson put it in his diary, "to persuade Russia to play ball".
>
> "Next, and also prior to the Marshall Plan, Winston Churchill delivered his notorious speech at Fulton, Missouri, which actually contained the formal declaration of the Cold War....Churchill's "Iron Curtain" speech was publicly sanctioned by the president of the United States, Harry S. Truman....Then, in February of 1947, the Truman Doctrine was announced, which called for a worldwide anticommunist crusade. Such was the political context in which the Marshall Plan was announced...Later, a version was fabricated that we had rejected "a fair deal", choosing instead to intensify the Cold War. But when recently declassified American documents on the Marshall Plan are examined, it will become clear that the offer was deliberately calculated to be rejected by the USSR."
>
> "We actually even reckoned with a threat of war from Washington...By the end of 1945, top United States brass had begun preparing for a nuclear attack on the Soviet Union. Twenty of our largest cities, were selected as targets for the dropping of 196 A-bombs in a first strike...
> The war preparations climaxed in 1949 with "Dropshot", which was a plan for an all-out war against the Soviet Union by means of all NATO forces supported by some Middle Eastern and Asian countries. Actually it was a blueprint for World War III."

Discussion

a. Do the above passages give you a different understanding of the Soviet Union's attitude toward the US?

b. Do they help to explain the so-called Soviet "paranoia" about the West?

c. Read other accounts of the Marshall Plan, Truman Doctrine and NATO to decide if these were active steps by the US to deny Russia its reasonable security interests.

d. Review Soviet-US relations during World War II including agreements made at Yalta and Potsdam to see if you feel the origins of the Cold War lie in some of the actions taken at that time. (Did the US and Britain delay the Second Front in WWII to let USSR bear brunt of fighting? Did Stalin go back on promises made at Yalta? etc.)

"DIFFERING US PERSPECTIVES ON THE SOVIET UNION"

"During my first press conference as President...I pointed out that as good Marxists-Leninists, the Soviet leaders have openly and publicly declared that the only morality they would recognize is that which will further their cause, which is world revolution...

Let us pray for the salvation of all those who live in that totalitarian darkness--pray that they will discover the joy of knowing God. But until they do, let us be aware that while they preach the supremacy of the state, declare its omnipotence over individual man, and predict its eventual domination of all peoples of the Earth--they are the focus of evil in the modern world... an evil empire.

(Remarks by Pres. Reagan to National Association of Evangelicals, March 8. 1983)

"The Soviet threat is the big lie of the arms race. The issue of the Soviet threat is this: the Soviet leaders, bent on world domination, will stop at nothing to defeat the US, by bluff, if possible, by nuclear war, if necessary." (Richard Barnet, in THE GIANTS, p.)

"Looking from the Kremlin window, a Soviet leader sees the fast development of a US-West German Japanese-Chinese alliance, a collection of historic enemies. He sees a resurgence of anti-Soviet rhetoric and anti-Soviet politics in the US. He may well be aware of the fact that the reappearance of the Soviet threat always coincides with the emergence of new weapons systems from the drawing boards..."
(Richard Barnet, SOJOURNERS, Aug. 1979, p.18)

"In the Soviet Union now there is widespread fear of war and a sense of urgency about the deterioration of international relations that is apparently not shared by the Reagan administration... The Soviets may be inclined to unyielding toughness in any confrontation to demonstrate that they cannot be pressured by Reagan. As Dr. Seweryn Bialer of Columbia University has observed, "The policies of the Reagan Administration have helped push the Soviet Union into a corner... I think the Soviets are waiting for an opportunity to reassert their international status and teach Reagan a lesson! Soviet leaders have come to see Ronald Reagan as promoting a substantially different anti-Soviet policy than they have faced in recent years. They perceive Reagan as engaged in a comprehensive anti-Soviet crusade that seeks to roll back and change their system, denigrating the Soviet way of life and denying their right to their own type of government.
(From THE DEFENSE MONITOR, published by Center for Defense Information, Vol. 13, No. 2, 1984, p. 5).

"The causes of Soviet aggressiveness are varied and many, some of them being rooted in Russian geography and history, others in Marxist-Leninist theory and practice. But perhaps the single most important of these causes resides in the fact that the Soviet Union and its dependencies are run by self-appointed and self-perpetuating elites whose extraordinary power, privileges, and wealth cannot be justified in any other way than by the alleged threat of "imperialist aggression" to the countries that they rule. Their status is directly related to the level of international tension. They can best keep their restless subjects under control by demonstrating to them that Communist power is invincible, that it will eventually spread around the globe, and that, therefore, all resistance to it is futile. It is through aggression abroad that the Communist elite best safeguards its position at home".
(Richard Pipes, "How to Cope with the Soviet Threat", COMMENTARY, Aug. 1984, p.13).

C. Current Perspectives on US/Soviet Policies and Intentions

1. Differing US Perspectives on the Soviet Union: Have students read the excerpts from the following four sources. Below is some background on the authors:

-- Ronald Reagan, US President, 1980 -

-- Richard Barnet, foreign policy analyst with the Institute for Policy Studies (Washington) and author of numerous works on US-USSR relations.

-- The Center for Defense Information, a group of retired US military officers, former CIA officials, and others, who are researching the military policy of both the US and the USSR. They support a strong defense but opposes excessive expenditures or forces and believe that strong social, economic and political structures contribute equally to nationally security and are essential to the strength and welfare of our country".

-- Richard Pipes, Professor of History at Harvard, former member of National Security Council, Director of East European and Soviet Affairs.

2. Discussion of the four perspectives:

a. Personal opinion - ask students which perspective they tend to agree with most and why?

b. Evaluating US and Soviet intensions: based on what students read in the excerpts, how would they predict each of these four would answer the following questions:

-- What is the USSR trying to do in the world today?
-- What are its long-range objectives?
-- Why does the Soviet Union act the way it does?

c. Good vs. Evil argument: The USSR has been perceived as evil by many politicians and analysts since the time of its 1917 Revolution. Former Pres. Nixon said: "The twin poles of human experience represented by the US and the Soviet Union as the equivalent of Good and Evil, Light and Darkness, God and the Devil....the US represents hope, freedom, security, and peace. The Soviet Union stands for fear, tyranny, aggression and war".

-- Note the similarity to Pres. Reagan's speech

- Have students evaluate these two statements in thelight of the historical information they have learned about the Cold War. Consider also the following quote from Barnet in THE GIANTS:

> (According to a Brookings Institute study)"there have been 215 incidents between 1945 and 1975 in which the US used military force as a political instrument; the USSR has done so on only 70 occasions".

(See also an essay by John Swomley, Jr., "The Myths of Soviet Intentions", in WHAT ABOUT THE RUSSIANS ed. by Dale Brown).

-- After considering these sources, ask students if they agree that the US is the source of hope, freedom, etc. and the USSR the only source of fear, tyranny, aggression and war.

-- Should US policy toward the Soviet Union be bi-partisan (as Richard Pipes recommends) so that it will not be subject to the sway of electoral politics?

-- Refer to the Geyer article again, especially point #4 and discuss the idea of "two giant systems of self-righteousness" which Butterfield suggested. (This would be a good place to play or replay Joan Baez recording of "With God on Our Side") Ask students:

--What place does religion play in our view of other countries, especially the USSR and Communist countries?
--Should religion be a factor in foreign affairs?
--Do you think the US is "self-righteous" in its dealing with other countries? Why or why not?

3. A Soviet Point of View on the "Soviet Threat" - Georgi Arbatov in THE SOVIET VIEWPOINT has this to say in answer to a question about the "Soviet Threat" issue.

> "Fear is a very strong emotion. Politicians know it, particularly American politicians...and you really have to produce such an emotion if you intend to impose a dangerous and costly arms race on your nation. Only when you scare people to death will you get your hundreds of billions of dollars for "defense". And nothing will scare the public more effectively than "the Russians are coming"!
>
> Grouped around this fear are powerful vested interests: the defense industries and the Pentagon, the groups serving them within the government bureaucracy, the academic community and the media. For all of them, militarism has become a way of life. They are ready to defend it by all means available. They thrive and prosper on the phantom of the "Soviet Threat". They always take good care to nurture it when it gets too worn out through heavy use."

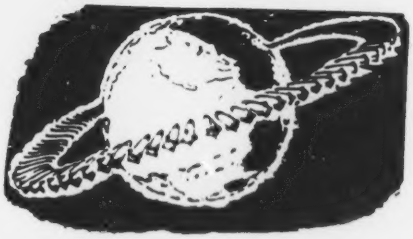
-- Have students look back at Four Differing Perspectives and relate this to them: Do any of the American perspectives sound similar to Arbatov's? Does Reagan's speech reflect the "scare tactics" mentioned by Arbatov? Compare, especially with the Pipes excerpt and ask students if they see similarities in the reasons behind the "Soviet Threat" and the alleged threat of imperialist aggression." Do they see a mirroring of motives and perceptions?

For further consideration of the vested interest and the economic reasons for war and militarism, see unit on "WAR AND ALTERNATIVES". p. 282 .

WHO IS THE ENEMY?

"Unlike Gandhi's India, we don't know who our enemies are. People think it is the Russians when it is actually the weapons themselves." (Barb Kass & Mike Miles, Jonah House, Baltimore)

Who is our enemy? Is there a real enemy? Is fear the enemy? Are the weapons the enemy? Is privilege and power the enemy?



D. EVALUATING THE CURRENT SITUATION

1. Balance of Power: Have students study the charts below from the Center for Defense Information newsletter (Jan. 1980)and answer the questions:

a. When one examines the Balance of World Power chart (top) what is the overall conclusion about who has the most "power" in the world today?

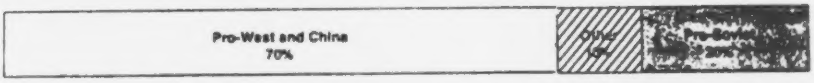
b. Are there any surprises in the list?

c. Which non-aligned countries might be considered to "lean"one way or the other?

d. Now examine the Gains and Losses Chart: How does this chart explain the non-alignment of countries such as Yugoslavia and North Korea? Have students find out why these countries have left the Soviet camp.

e. What other countries have left the Soviet camp? What countries have joined?

THE BALANCE OF WORLD POWER



Utilizing power ratings for 78 countries developed by Dr. Ray Cline in *World Power Trends* (1980), these countries have been divided into three groups: 1) Western countries, pro-Western countries, and China; 2) Soviet Union and its clients; and 3) Other (nonaligned). Dr. Cline's power ratings are based on a combination of demographic, geographic, economic, and military factors. The other 77 countries in the world are assumed to have power ratings of zero and are not included in this listing.

	Power Index
1) U.S. and its military allies	1449
Other pro-Western countries	351
China	139
	1939
2) Soviet Union and its clients	556
3) Other (nonaligned)	250

Pro-Western Countries and China

United States
Brazil
Canada
France
West Germany
Japan
Australia
United Kingdom
Italy
Argentina
Spain
Turkey
South Korea
Mexico
Philippines
Taiwan
Israel
Norway
Netherlands
Chile
New Zealand
Denmark
Peru
Colombia
Venezuela
Belgium
Luxembourg
Greece
Portugal
Indonesia
Egypt
South Africa
Saudi Arabia
Nigeria
Pakistan
Zaire
Thailand
Sudan
Sweden
Morocco
Kenya
Malaysia
Switzerland
Kuwait
Surinam
Austria
United Arab Emirates
Singapore
Liberia
China

Other

India
Iran
Bangladesh
Algeria
Iraq
Yugoslavia
North Korea
Burma
Tanzania
Finland
Zambia
Zimbabwe Rhodesia
Guinea
Jamaica
Albania

Pro-Soviet Countries

U.S.S.R.
Vietnam
Poland
Romania
East Germany
Czechoslovakia
Mongolia
Bulgaria
Hungary
Cuba
Syria
Libya
Ethiopia

Seventy-seven other countries receive no power rating from Dr. Cline. They include such pro-Soviet countries as Afghanistan and Angola, such pro-Western countries as Paraguay and Oman, and such nonaligned countries as Guinea-Bissau and Guyana.

GAINS AND LOSSES FOR THE SOVIET UNION 1945-1979

	Mongolia	Albania Bulgaria East Germany Poland Romania Yugoslavia	North Korea	Hungary	Czechoslovakia	China		
Gains		1945	1946	1947	1948	1949	1950	1951
Losses					Yugoslavia			

					Syria		Indonesia Iraq	Guinea
Gains	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959
Losses							Syria	

	Ghana Mali		Yemen (Sana)	Algeria		Vietnam	Syria	Egypt
Gains	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967
Losses	China	Albania Guinea	Indonesia	Iraq		Algeria	Ghana	

	Congo Iraq	Cuba Somalia Sudan		Guinea India	Bangladesh		Libya	Angola Laos Mozambique
Gains	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975
Losses	Mali	North Korea Yemen (Sana)		Sudan	Egypt			Bangladesh

		Ethiopia	Afghanistan Yemen (Aden)	Cambodia	
Gains	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980
Losses		Guinea India Somalia	Iraq		

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III. UNDERSTANDING THE ARMS RACE: MILITARY COMPARISONS

A. Facts and Figures

For young elementary children:

1. Read Dr. Seuss, THE BUTTER BATTLE BOOK and discuss some questions such as: Who do the the Yooks and Zooks remind you of? Why did each side feel they had to invent bigger and better weapons? Was there something they might have done instead of making weapons to solve their differences? Were their differences really important enough to fight over?

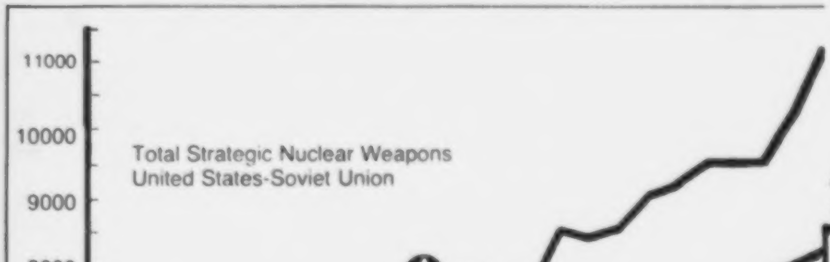
-- Use this to lead into the next activities on the US-USSR Arms Race.

2. Have students do the puppet play TWO FLAGS and the activities following it from Camy Condon's PUPPETS FOR PEACE. (see p. 233)

3. Using the information in the Action-Reaction Chart below do the ARMS RACE activity from PUPPETS FOR PEACE: Have two children or teams, one representing the US and the other the USSR race forward carrying the date each country developed a particular weapons systems. When finished, help students draw conclusions about who started the race, who is ahead, etc.

For older students

4. Evaluating the statistics: Study the charts below and ask students to answer the questions following them.



From the DEFENSE MONITOR Vol. XIII
No. 6, 1984.

ACTION<-------------> REACTION
in the Nuclear Competition

US 1945	atomic bomb	1949 USSR
US 1948	intercontinental bomber	1955 USSR
US 1952	thermonuclear bomb	1953 USSR
USSR 1957	intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM)	1958 US
USSR 1957	man-made satellite	1958 US
US 1960	submarine-launched ballistic missile (SLBM)	1968 USSR
US 1966	multiple warhead (MRV)	1968 USSR
USSR 1968	anti-ballistic missile (ABM)	1972 US
US 1970	multiple independently-targeted warhead (MIRV)	1975 USSR
US 1982	long-range cruise missile	198? USSR
US 1983	neutron bomb	198? USSR
US 198?	anti-satellite weapon	198? USSR

From World Military and
Social Expenditures, 1981
by Ruth Leger Sivard

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US-SOVIET STRATEGIC NUCLEAR FORCES (as of June 1984)(from Center for Defense Information)

Total Weapons	US		USSR	
	1980	1984	1980	1984
On ICBMS (Intercontinental)		2133		5803
On SLBMs (Submarine-Launched)		5536		2096
On Long-Range Bombers		3550		340(269)
TOTALS	10,500	11,219	6,000	8239

1. According to the above information from CDI, is there any truth to the claim that the USSR is catching up with or ahead of the US in the arms race?

2. How might one account for the "so-called" Soviet missile buildup claimed by the Reagan administration in recent years?

3. In what areas of the arms race are the Soviets actually ahead in numbers of weapons? The US? Will more nuclear weapons on either side change the basic relationship?

4. How many times has the US taken the lead in developing new weapons systems? (see ACTION-REACTION chart). The Soviets?

5. How does the above information affect your feelings about the arms race?
-- Do you think the US should continue to develop new systems? To spend more money? (current administration budget proposal for defense will cost approximately $43 million every hour for the next 5 years, a total of more than $20,000 for each taxpayer in America).
-- Do you feel more or less secure knowing the above?

6. In addition to numbers there is the question of quality of defense: the following quotes represent the opinions of various military and defense officials regarding the comparative quality of US-USSR forces and weaponry:

> Defense Sec. Weinberger: "...I would not for a moment exchange anything, because we have an immense edge in technology." (Senate Foreign Relations Committee testimony, April 29, 1983)
>
> Undersecretary of Defense Richard D. DeLauer: "...The US has maintained its lead in most of the basic technologies critical to defense...(Feb. 1984).
>
> Admiral Kinnaird R. McKee: "We are the threat, not they. The submarines we have today are extraordinarily good. The Soviets have a paranoid fear of our attack submarines." (March 15, 1984).

7. Many people, including the Reagan administration, feel that in order to remain secure, the US must continue to spend at a high rate, to develop new technology and upgrade old, and to build more and better nuclear weapons, to expand our defense system into space. Are there any other alternatives?

B. Diplomacy and Arms Control

Have students refer back to Activity B-1 in Section II (Understanding the Cold War) and see how the arms race and the Cold War fit together. Discuss the attempts at arms control (see list of treaties mentioned there) and have students research them to discover their successes and failures.

IV. THE FUTURE OF THE COLD WAR/ARMS RACE

A. Imagining the Future

1. A survey: The following questions have been asked of both Soviet and American schoolchildren. The teacher should use care in presenting such a survey to their students, taking into consideration the level of development and emotional maturity of children. If students are asked to answer these questions, they might compare their answers with those already tabulated? Are they more or less optimistic? Why?

Y N U 1. Do you think a nuclear war between the US and USSR will happen during your lifetime?

	SOVIET	AMERICAN	YOUR CLASS
Yes	11.8%	38.4%	
No	54.5%	16.9%	
Uncertain	33.7%	44.8%	

Y N U 2. If there were a nuclear war, do you think that you and your family would survive?

Yes	2.9%	16.4%	
No	80.7%	41.3%	
Uncertain	16.4%	40.8%	

Y N U 3. If there were a nuclear war, do you think that the US and USSR would survive it?

Yes	6.5%	21.9%	
No	78.9%	37.8%	
Uncertain	15.0%	39.8%	

*American children were asked only about survival of US.

Y N U 4. Do you think nuclear war between the US and USSR can be prevented?

Yes	93.3%	65.2%	
No	2.9%	14.5%	
Uncertain	3.9%	19.9%	

This activity could be used with a showing of the videotape WHAT THE SOVIET CHILDREN ARE SAYING ABOUT NUCLEAR WEAPONS or IN THE NUCLEAR SHADOW. It would be important to point out the optimism in the Soviet childrens' answers and that this optimism, according to Eric Chivan who conducted this survey, "may stem from their activities in school...circulating peace petitions, creating good-will art projects, raising money for a peace fund and sending letters to international friendship clubs. All of this gives them a sense of impact." (quote and survey from FORUM, IPPNW Report, Vol. 2, No. 1, Winter, 1984,)

-- You might follow up this survey by having students make a list of activities they would like to do to help stop the arms race or prevent nuclear war (see unit on "War and Alternatives" for more ideas).

2. Role-play: (For older students)

-- Have students play Ground Zero's FIREBREAKS I or II game, in which a scenario of confrontation between the US and USSR is set up in one part of the world and teams must give advice to the leaders of each country about what moves to make. Available from GROUND ZERO Resource Center.

-- Assign teams of students to represent diplomatic staff of various countries at a mock UN Security Council or General Assembly and have them formulate a policy with regard to intervention by major powers into Third World affairs (i.e. the US operations in Honduras or USSR invasion of Afghanistan, the Persian Gulf, etc.) Have some students try to defend the interests of each major power in opposition or in favor of the policy.(see the unit of "US Foreign Policy" for more ideas)

3. Music and Films: Play John Lennon's recording of "Imagine" on IMAGINE, Apple Records, SW339). Ask students if they agree with Lennon that the world could live in peace if there were no countries, no religions, no possessions, etc., and if they think this is a realistic point of view. Ask them if they would be willing to give up those things for peace in the world. Ask them to write their own verse beginning with the word "Imagine"...

-- Another recent recording dealing with peace is PIPES OF PEACE by Paul McCarthy and talks about teaching peace to future generations. Ask students if they see this happening today. (You might discuss Peace Academy here)

-- The record IT'S A MISTAKE by Men at Work and especially the video showing an accidental war starting between US and USSR would be good to discuss as well.

-- MOVIES: Refer to recent movies like WAR GAMES AND RED DAWN, which seem to anticipate Soviet attacks or invasions by the USSR. Ask students, if, in the light of their studies of US-USSR relations, they think these scenarics are possible. Why or why not? How could they be prevented?

B. What can we do?
For elementary level:

1. Discuss the following questions (from PUPPETS FOR PEACE)
-- What kinds of things could help change Russia from being an "enemy" into being a "friend"?

Possible answers might include:
- -- meeting more Russian people or having a pen-pal
- -- learning more about the Russian people today
- -- learning more about Russian history and culture
- -- praying for friendship and peace
- -- exchanging students, teachers, clergy
- -- political leaders meeting and talking more often
- -- reducing fear by agreeing limit and reduce the nuclear arms race
- -- cooperating on joint space, scientific, cultural projects
- -- learning each other's language
- -- writing letters to leaders of both countries

2. Read THE PEACE BOOK by Bernard Benson: ask students if they feel it is possible for children to really do things to change the Cold War into Peace? Which of the above things would they want to do?

3. Read the book HOW TO TURN WAR INTO PEACE, by Louise Armstrong, which deals with terminology and methods of mediation conflict in international affairs. Asks students to apply the concepts to an imagined conflict between the US and the USSR. This could be acted out by students, with some representing each side and some representing mediators.

4. Do the ARMS RACE Activity suggested above, but change it to THE PEACE RACE with children suggesting possible developments in the race.

5. Planning a summit meeting: Have students list the issues they would like to see discussed at a future summit meeting of leaders of the US-USSR. Brainstorm first, then prioritize the items from most important to least important. Have them also list the things they feel need to happen before such a summit can actually occur.

For older students

6. Read Agenda for improving relations between the US and the USSR by George Kennan on p. 234 .Then consider each of Kennan's suggestions for better relations between the superpowers:

-- Ask students if they see any examples of an attempt by the two governments to restore confidentiality and civility of communication. Where, when and by whom have these attempts been made? What have been the responses to the attempts?

-- In regard to Kennan's suggestions about trade, consider the following quotes from a recent editorial which appeared in the ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH, Sept. 10, 1984:

> "Both proponents and opponents of detente would agree that foreign trade statistics provide a tangible basis for an evaluation of current US-Soviet relations...trade between the two countries during 1982 and 1983 registered a 13% increase over the 1980-81 period in dollar terms... one can forecast that the US-Soviet trade in 1984-85 will achieve another record high, especially due to yet another projected poor Soviet harvest this fall.... A high-ranking trade delegation to New York in the end of May 1984...expressed the desire to see US-Soviet trade reach the $22 billion to $25 billion mark, a level almost 10 times higher than current trade levels. It does not sound like a crisis or pre-war type confrontation, does it?"

(from "Actually US-Soviet Relations are Good", by Mikhail S. Berstam and Constantin V. Galskoy, research fellows at Hoover Institute, Stanford University).

Other writers have urged increased trade, notably Seyom Brown (in an article entitled "Dealing with USSR", in NEITHER COLD WAR NOR DETENTE, ed. Melanson, 1984) who feels we should "exploit opportunities for economic and technological cooperation across ideological lines". Others, like Richard Pipes, however, feel that foreign technology and credits help prop up the economic regime of the USSR, and even contribute to their ability to direct more resources to the military effort, not to mention the potential use of Western technology for military as well as industrial uses.

-- Have students discuss these differing points of view on trade with the USSR and bow important they feel trade is in our relations. Some people feel trade should be "linked" with changes in behavior, such things as human rights, treatment of dissidents, and freedom of immigration. (ex. grain embargo as reaction to Soviet invasion of Afghanistan). Ask students if they agree with the latter point of view, why or why not?

-- What is Kennan's point of view on the idea of nuclear superiority? (see also his book of essays, THE NUCLEAR DELUSION, for more on this).

-- Have students research areas in which the peaceful interests of the two powers have coincided and where agreements and treaties have been made and kept. (See section II-B "Friends or Enemies?") Where else could such agreements be made?

-- Review with students treaties on arms control and their successes or failures, (Section II-B) and possible reasons for such.

-- Finally, ask students what "deficiencies" they see in their own society, and how government and citizens might try to correct these?

-- Which of Kennan's suggestions seem easiest to achieve, hardest? Why?

7. Personal Action Opportunities

NOW TAKE SOME STEPS FOR PEACE YOURSELF! Write a letter to the Editor or to a Congressman or President expressing your opinion and urging actions to be taken to improve relations with the USSR.
-- Get involved with one of the Fellowship of Reconciliation Projects, the Institute for Peace and Justice Pairing Project or another.
-- Get involved with the Nuclear Freeze (see Case Study, p. 286) or other groups promoting disarmament.
-- Swords into Plowshares, Box 10406, Des Moines, IA 50306, sells a plowshare pin made of aluminum from a US Jet fighter plane and donate profits to peace efforts. Write for information.

Travel opportunities: For a fairly complete list of exchange or tour groups going to USSR see FOR'S Directory of Intitiatives or the Handbook of Organizations involved in Soviet-American Relations from the Institute for Soviet-American Relations,($15).

SEEDS OF HOPE

To our friends, the Soviet people,
К НАШИМ ДРУЗЬЯМ, СОВЕТСКОМУ НАРОДУ,
Let us plant a garden together —
ДАВАЙТЕ ПОСАДИМ ВМЕСТЕ САД,
Flowers, not fear
ЦВЕТЫ, НЕ СТРАХ,
Marigolds, not missiles
НОГОТКИ, НЕ РАКЕТЫ,
Together, let us choose life
ВМЕСТЕ ДАВАЙТЕ ВЫБЕРЕМ ЖИЗНЬ,
So that we and our children may live.
ЧТОБЫ МЫ И НАШИ ДЕТИ МОГЛИ ЖИТЬ.

A PERSPECTIVE ON EAST-WEST RELATIONS

(by Alan Geyer, Director of The Center for Theology and Public Policy in Washington, DC and a former Editor of The Christian Century, and reprinted here with his permission.)

Similarities between the USA and the USSR

I move now to discuss an awkward and painful subject: the similarities between our nation and the Soviet Union. Here are some of the similarities that impress me:

1. We are both great land powers that have never been conquered. There is therefore a common mystique about bigness and invincibility. It is said that when we Americans meet Russians, there is a capacity for understanding and friendship that doesn't always flower when we meet folks from smaller countries. And it has also been said that when Texans and Russians get together there is a capacity for reconciliation that those of us from New Jersey are less likely to experience!

2. We both have long histories of isolation that we find hard to escape. The habits of isolationism are heavy on both of us, and they feed tendencies toward suspicion and paranoia. This paranoia doesn't necessarily express itself in withdrawal from the outside world. Both of our peoples seem to vacillate between isolationism and interventionism. Psychologically, these attitudes can stem from the same habit of mind about the outside world.

3. We both have revolutionary heritages that we remember in various ways. In both cases there was an overthrow of an old order. In America it was a bourgeois movement to throw off British colonialism; in Russia the revolution overcame Tsarist feudalism. Both people still have a "founding father complex" about their revolutions, which gives both a sense of revolutionary uniqueness.

4. Both nations have developed over many generations a sense of historic destiny of peculiar intensity. We and the Soviets share, as it were, a sense of messianic identity. For Russians this expresses itself in the concept of the one holy country. Therefore it was not difficult for the Bolsheviks to translate that image into "Bolshevik Russia" as the true center of worldwide Communist revolution. The efforts of the Soviets to maintain that central place in history have been intense.

The British historian Butterfield observed that our world today is dominated by "two giant systems of self-righteousness," each only too glad to perceive the wickedness of the other and to use that perception for its own ends. The mirror-image--which fuels still further animosity, hostility, and even atrocities--is part of the problem of the US-Soviet relations.

5. We both have strong ideologies of equality. There is an egalitarian element rooted in the revolutionary heritage of both countries. We Americans have an "all-persons-are-created-equal" ideology. The Soviets have their dream of a classless society. And yet we live with the reality of severe inequalities in both societies, although we sometimes have difficulty in perceiving these inequalities.

6. Both societies have well-developed anti-political, anti-government traditions. Americans still like to quote Jefferson's dictum that the government which governs best is the one that governs least. In other words, we would really be best off if we did not have any government at all!

On the Soviet side there is a very cynical notion about government. For the Soviet people government is understood ideologically to be the tool of economic interests. In the present stage of the revolution, government is accepted as a temporary expedient. But the expectation is that a day will come when government will entirely wither away.

7. Both societies have ethnic pluralism with serious, unresolved conflicts. The pluralism in America is quite obvious, with Blacks, Hispanics, and Asians the largest minorities. Less visible to us is the pluralism in the Soviet Union. Yet now, for the first time, non-Russian peoples are in the majority, most dramatically in Islamic Central Asia. At the recent "Choose Life Consultation" in Geneva, the most startling single utterance was from an Armenian archbishop. In the context of a discussion on "Why Afghanistan?" he expressed great gratitude to the Soviet government for its intervention in Afghanistan. He said it helped save Christians in the Soviet Union from the swelling tides of Islamic hordes!

8. We Americans and Soviets are among the world's most materialistic people. Both societies glory in their economic systems and share the reality of being industrialized, scientific, technological, and urbanized.

9. Each nation has inherited an anti-militarist ideology, yet both have developed highly militarized societies. Our founding mothers and fathers believed very strongly that we should have no peacetime standing military establishment. As they looked at the experience of countries in the old world, they saw military establishments to be the enemies of freedom and civil liberty.

On the Soviet side, there was the ideological notion that the revolution would do away with militarism. Many in the first generation of the Russian revolution wanted to pull out of the First World War because it was seen to be an expression of Tsarist decadence. However, since World War II both of our nations have become highly mobilized, permanently garrisoned states--prepared for another war.

10. Finally, as super-powers, we both have become addicted to nuclear weapons. Both the USA and the USSR have enormous stockpiles of nuclear armaments, which we regard as symbols of great power. Yet our common experience is that for many years both nations have been declining in world-wide political influence. Our ability to create the rest of the world in our own image has declined at the same time that our power to destroy the world has multiplied.

Differences also noted

Of course, there are significant differences between the USA and the Soviet Union. I could say much about the greater reality of freedom in our society, and about our civil liberties, which remain in a rather remarkably healthy state, all things considered. This country continues to attract people who must, for reasons of human rights, leave other societies.

Obviously, another difference is the relatively greater material abundance that most of our citizens enjoy. Our agricultural success is in startling contrast to the Soviet misery in this area.

There is also the historical reality that the United States has never been invaded and devastated as was the Soviet Union during World War II. For the older generation of Soviet leaders, this experience forms an important part of mentality and motivation.

In the light of these comparisons and contrasts, we must ask: Is it the differences between us and the Soviets that are most important? Or is it rather that our similarities are threatening not only to each other but to the whole world? Are we in danger of allowing the issues of Third World development to become increasingly obscured by regression to a primitive chauvinism and to the cold war mentality of the 1950's? Problems in every geographical area of the world are now being redefined primarily in terms of US-Soviet relations. The Middle East is being defined largely in terms of the confrontation between the USA and the USSR; so also with Southern Africa, South Asia, Latin America, and increasingly so in Western Europe.

MYTHS IN US-SOVIET RELATIONS

We need now to examine what I call "myths" about US-Soviet relations. There is no more important task for intelligent persons than to demythologize Soviet-American relations in order to see what the real problems are.

1. The first myth is that Soviet power is growing and expanding all over the world. The Soviet Union occupied the European countries on its western border during World War II. Nazi Germany, with the help of some of those countries, had invaded USSR during the war, killing 20 million Soviet citizens. The USSR still retains strong influence in those countries--East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and Bulgaria. And it felt the need in Hungary (1956) and Czechoslovakia (1948 and 1968) brutally to assert its control in order to protect its self-interest and security.

However, that history was not repeated in all countries where the Soviets had troops in 1945. They withdrew troops from Iran (1946), Austria (1955) and Finland (1955), and never controlled Yugoslavia or Albania--communist countries who fiercely maintained their independence.

Elsewhere the Soviet Union has lost previously held influence in the People's Republic of China, Egypt, Indonesia and India. Studies have shown that Soviet influence was at its height in the 1950's and that there has been little momentum since. Of 155 or more countries in the world, the Soviet Union has once had influence in 35. Now it has influence in 19. Apart from its own population and productivity, the Soviet Union influences only about 6% of the world's population and 5% of the world's gross national product. A study of Ray Cline, a former CIA official, indicates that 70% of the world's power balance is pro-West and China and only 20% pro-Soviet.

The Soviet Union has been notably unsuccessful in gaining and holding the allegiance of Third World countries. Most Third World counrties, though willing to receive help when needed, have jealously protected their own sovereignty. Algeria, Bangladesh, Ghana, Guinea, Iraq, Mali, Somalia, Sudan, and Yemen are among those countries that have ended Soviet involvement.

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2. The second myth is that US military power declined all during the 1970's. It is true that the nuclear arsenal of the Soviet Union has increased in the last 5 years. They have built 4,500 strategic nuclear warheads. However, during the first half of the 70's, the US built 5,000 more bringing their total to 9,000. The Soviet Union, recognizing that it was behind, began an expansion program in the middle 70's bringing their total to 7,100 strategic nuclear warheads. Current United States proposals include building 4,500 new warheads.

The 70's was also the decade in which the arms trade flourished. The United States arms export increased from less than a billion dollars a year to 14 billion dollars by the end of the decade.

3. The third myth is that the Soviets are always rigid and intransigent in arms control negotiations and that they use these occesions to force the United States into postures of appeasement. The public testimony of those involved in the SALT II negotiations is that the Soviet Union made all of the major concessions. The Soviet Union agreed to give up 250 of its strategic weapons systems. We were not--had we ratified SALT II--obliged to get rid of anything. The Soviet Union--having developed heavy missiles like the SS 18 that could mount as many as 30 or 40 warheads--agreed to limit them to 10 warheads apiece. Because the United States pushed ahead with cruise missile technology, the Soviets agreed to allow 28 missiles per American bomber, instead of the 5 or 10 they had initially wanted.

We need to be very clear about the increasing evidence of Soviet seriousness over a period of six years in coming to a SALT agreement. It is in this context that we need to discuss the prospects for a nuclear freeze, or to take with some seriousness the proposal of the former Ambassador George Kennan, for a 50 percent cut in nuclear weapons on both sides.

4. Another myth is that the Soviet Union is ahead in the nuclear arms race. The United States has 9,000 strategic nuclear warheads; the Soviet Union has 7,100. When comparing the strengths of nuclear arsenals, it is important to compare all three legs of the triad. To compare only one leg can give a misleading picture. For instance, of the 7,000 nuclear warheads the Soviet Union has, 5,500 warheads are on land-based missiles (ICBMs), compared to 2,152 for the US. The US, on the other hand, has 4,880 warheads on submarines compared to 1,334 for the Soviets. The US has put more effort into submarines and sea-launched weapons (which are less vulnerable than land based missiles) and consequently is stronger in the sea-launched leg. United States aircraft carry 1,928 weapons compared to 260 for the USSR, so the air-borne leg is also stronger.

The indications are that the United States has a better strategic bomber force, a better strategic missile firing force and a better capacity for anti-submarine warfare. The Soviet Union has a stronger but not necessarily more effective land-based missile force. Former Secretary of Defense Brown has therefore affirmed that the nuclear arsenals of the USSR and the US are in rough parity.

5. The fifth myth is that further US arms build-up will slow Soviet arms development. There is no historical basis for this assumption. Since World War II the arms race has spiraled because Soviets have been intent on catching up with the USA. Except for the Intercontinental Ballistic Missile and the Anti-Ballistic Missile, the United States has been the first to develop each new weapon system. The Soviet Union has attempted to catch up after each new system has been built.

Two Flags

Theme & Format

This pantomime skit using two small flags presents a visual interpretation of US-Soviet relations and how they might proceed in the years ahead. It asks the children to identify each stage of the relationship and provides an opportunity to have them identify ways of helping the positive concluding stage come to be, focusing specifically on the nuclear arms race between the US and the USSR.

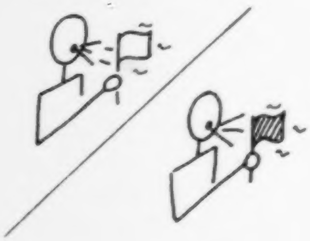
Directions

Note: Since TWO FLAGS can focus specifically on the arms race, the broader question of building friendship between US and Russian people is an important prior consideration. Thus, we suggest doing FRIENDS AND ENEMIES before TWO FLAGS or use Discussion Question #1 below as a way of incorporating this broader demension into this skit.

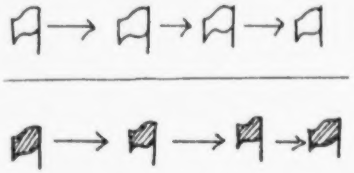
1. Get two volunteers to hold your stage (consisting of a rope over which is draped some kind of material, e.g., a blanket or bed spread) while you as leader operate behind/below the stage with the US flag and the Russian flag (generally available wherever UNICEF materials are sold).

2. Present the following sequence of movements, illustrating the following stages:

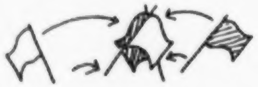
--blow each flag separately at center stage (independence)



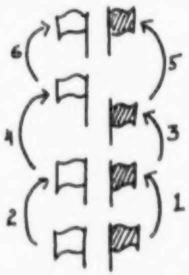
--March each flag separately across the stage (superpower assertion of power)



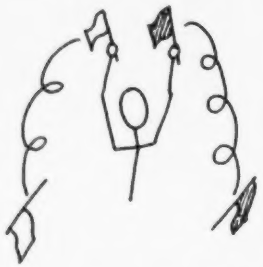
--have the two flags clash at center stage (confrontation)



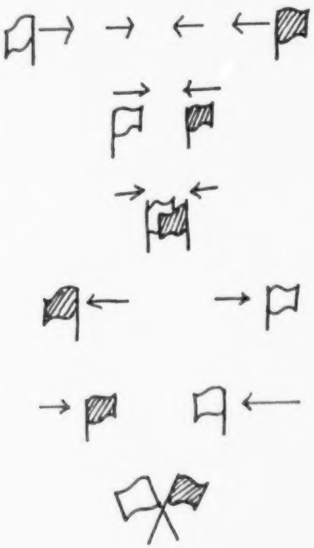
--have the two escalate upwards above the stage, with the US generally going higher first and the Russian flag catching up (the arms race primarily, but suggesting other forms of competition as well)



--at the limit of your upward stretching (escalating), have the two flags collapse and flop over the stage at separate ends (exhaustion of resources, economic collapse)



--slowly move the two toward each other, crossing over each other, crossing back, touching (becoming friends)



--blow the two flags together (mutual respect, equality, cooperation)

3. Ask the children to explain each stage of the sequence, repeating the movements as you focus on each stage. There isn't necessarily only one "right" answer or interpretation, so affirm a variety of responses. Another possibility would be to have the children make their own paper flags and act out the skit themselves.

Discussion Questions

1. If you are not going to use FRIENDS AND ENEMIES as a way of having the children consider how to help make the Russians friends instead of enemies, then you should ask that question here and follow the directions in the FRIENDS AND ENEMIES skit.

2. What are some of the ways the US and the USSR have been trying to be better (the "escalation" or "arms race" stage) than each other? Answers might include: in gaining allies, supportive votes in the UN, selling arms to other countries, getting the most raw materials like oil, Olympic medals, as well as being ahead in the arms race.

3. Why do you think either country would want to be ahead in the arms race?

4. Do you think it does any good to be ahead? What happens when more than one wants to be ahead?

From PUPPETS FOR PEACE by Camy Condon

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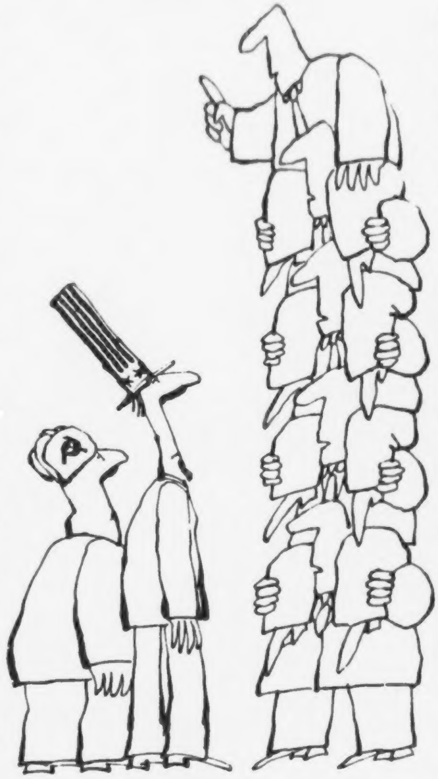
The Following article is reprinted from FELLOWSHIP magazine, Jan./Feb. 1984, with their permission:

An Agenda for Improving Relations Between the US & the USSR

by George F. Kennan



Len Munnik

In order to put the relationship between the United States and the Soviet Union on a "sounder, more reassuring and less frightened basis," George F. Kennan, former ambassador to the Soviet Union, has made these suggestions:

- We could try, first of all, to restore the full confidentiality and the civility of communication between our two governments. And we could cease treating the Soviet Union as though we were, out of one pocket at peace with it, and out of the other — at war.

- We could lift the heavy dead hand off Soviet-American trade and permit that normal and useful branch of human activity to proceed in response to its own economic requirements. We have no need to be trying to set back the economy, or depress the living standards, of another great people; nor is it in keeping with the American tradition to be engaged in such an effort.

- We could take a much bolder, more hopeful and promising stance in matters of arms control; and when I say that, I am not talking about unilateral disarmament. We could acknowledge — and it is high time we did so — that the nuclear weapon is a useless one which could not conceivably be used without inviting catastrophe upon the people whose government initiated its use, along with untold millions of people elsewhere. Recognizing this, we could reject all dreams of nuclear superiority and see what we could do about reducing the existing nuclear arsenals, with a view to their eventual total elimination. A number of approaches have been suggested: the freeze, deep cuts, the so-called "build-down," a comprehensive test ban treaty, and others. These are not alternatives. They are complementary. Any or all of them would be useful. But to get on with them, I believe that we would have to learn to treat the problem as a whole in our negotiations with the Russians, not in a series of fragmentized technical talks — and to treat it at the senior political level, as it should be treated.

- We could set out to take advantage of those areas where the peaceful interests of the two powers do coincide and where possibilities for collaboration do exist. What have we to lose? If my memory is correct, we once had some twenty-two separate agreements for collaboration and personnel exchanges in a whole series of cultural and scientific fields. A number of those proved fruitful; some, I understand, did not. I hold no brief for the retention of those that did not. But most of them, including certain of the useful ones, have been allowed to lapse.

- You *can* conclude useful agreements with the Soviet side; they *will* respect them — on the condition, however, that the terms be clear and specific, not general; that as little as possible be left to interpretation; that questions of motivation and particularly professions of lofty principle be left aside; finally, that the other contracting party show a serious, continued interest in their observance.

- If what we want to achieve is a liberalization of the political regime prevailing in the USSR, then it is to example rather than precept we must look. We could start by tackling, with greater resolution and courage than we have yet shown, some of the deficiencies in our own society.

At the end of our present path of unlimited military confrontation lies no visible destination but failure and horror. There are no alternatives to this path that would not be preferable to it. What is needed here is only the will — the courage, the boldness, the affirmation of life — to break out of the evil spell that has been cast upon us, to declare our independence of the nightmares of nuclear danger, and to turn our minds and hearts to better things.

For all their historical and ideological differences, these two peoples — the Russians and the Americans — complement each other; they need each other; they can enrich each other; together, granted the requisite insight and restraint, they can do more than any other two powers to assure world peace.

George Kennan is presently a Fellow of the Woodrow Wilson Center for International Studies at the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. The above remarks are excerpted from an address to the American Committee on East-West Accord, May 17, 1983.

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THE
MILITARY
AND
US
LIFE

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OUTLINE OF THE CONTENTS

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- B. Textbooks and Children's Books
- C. FEMA in Schools, Hospitals, Civil Defense
- D. Recruitment
- E. Registration and the Draft (see Volume III, "Peace, War, and Military Service")
- F. ROTC
- G. Career Options

II. THE MILITARY AND THE US ECONOMY

- A. "Military-Industrial Complex"
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-- "Therefore Choose Life" - The Aldridge Story
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THE MILITARY AND US LIFE

TEACHER DIRECTIONS

This whole unit is geared primarily to high school and college students, although junior high students could profit from much of the first half and from the "Sticks and Stones and the Dragon" skit introducing the concept of economic conversion in the second half.

The first half of this unit, "The Military and Young People", focuses especially on how the military has entered our schools and influences young people, from textbooks, testing, and the curriculum itself to recruiters and the JROTC and ROTC programs. The issue of ROTC allows students to reflect on the relationship between military values and educational values. The issue of recruitment and especially registration for the draft allows students to reflect on the relationship between military values and their own values. See the special section in the unit on "Peace and War" in Volume III of this manual for a lengthy process for guiding students through a decision on military service. Finally, the section on career options provides a personal dimension to this unit through the stories of two engineers working in the military-industrial complex.

The second half of this unit, "The Military and the US Economy", presents the case for economic conversion. Students are invited to an action-oriented research project designed to help them understand their own local economy better and explore ways of working to change it. Ample research directions are provided, with an extensive bibliography at the beginning of the unit for more sophisticated studies. The basic concepts in this section are important, for they focus on alternatives to prevailing ways of thinking. But the concepts begin to make some practical sense through the case studies and research projects. The excerpts from the Bess Myerson Grant speech add an inspirational appeal besides raising the issue of "national security" as a possible obstacle to economic conversion.

It is necessary to note at the beginning of this unit and the unit on "War" that we do not hold a kind of "devil theory" that identifies the US as the only source of evil, especially when it comes to the military and war. Other nations are also responsible for the lack of peace and justice in the world. These units, and the manual in general, focus on the United States because, as US citizens, we need to put our own house in order and because the US currently has greater influence and power, for good or for bad, than any other nation in history.

Further, we do not imply or believe that there is no need for armed forces in this (or any other) country or that persons in the military are necessarily less moral. But we do take a critical look at the role of the military in US life, because of the power and pervasiveness of the military. It is an institution and a way of thinking that has affected every other institution and every individual's values and attitudes. Presenting an alternative view of the military as a social institution and questioning the necessity of military production for the health of our economy are essential if persons are to make informed decisions about their own participation in the military and about public policy matters as a voter.

SPECIAL RESOURCES

For teacher (and older students) background reading and research

-- Betty Reardon, PEACMAKING, MILITARISM AND EDUCATION Program (United Ministries in Education and the Institute for World Order; Valley Forge, PA 19481) analyzes the impact of militarism of elementary, secondary, and teacher education in the US and offers a program of response to this problem.

-- David McFadden, ed., ECONOMIC CONVERSION: REVITALIZING AMERICA'S ECONOMY (Ballanger, 1984) is an anthology of case studies of mostly European economic conversion efforts, including the Lucas Aerospace example mentioned in this unit; available from the Center for Economic Conversion.

-- Randy Schutt, THE MILITARY IN YOUR BACKYARD: HOW TO DETERMINE THE IMPACT OF MILITARY SPENDING IN YOUR COMMUNITY (Center for Economic Conversion, 1984; 200 pp.) is an excellent research guide.

-- William Arkin, RESEARCH GUIDE TO CURRENT MILITARY AND STRATEGIC AFFAIRS (Institute for Policy Studies, 1981; 232 pp.) and NUCLEAR WEAPONS DATA BOOK, VOLUME I: US NUCLEAR FORCES AND CAPABILITIES (Ballanger, 1984; 329 pp.) are excellent books on how to get, read, and understand information on nuclear weapons.

-- David McFadden, THE FREEZE ECONOMY (from the Center for Economic Conversion and the National Nuclear Freeze Campaign office, 3195 S. Grand, St. Louis, MO. 63118; 1983) is a primer on the impact of the "Freeze" on the US economy, with good chapters on economic conversion and on organizing. Harttung's ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES OF THE NUCLEAR FREEZE (1984) presents more data but nothing on organizing.

-- The best books on the US military economy in general are Seymour Melman, PROFITS WITHOUT PRODUCTION (Knopf, 1984) and Robert DeGrasse, MILITARY EXPANSION, ECONOMIC DECLINE (Council on Economic Priorities, 84 5th Ave., NY,NY.)

-- NACLA RESEARCH METHODOLOGY GUIDE ($2.00 from NACLA) and HOW TO RESEARCH A CORPORATION ($4.00 from Midwest Academy, 600 W. Fullerton Ave., Chicago, IL 60614) are two additional research guides. The first includes political and educational institutions, while the second focuses solely on corporations.

-- HIGH SCHOOL ORGANIZING PACKET from the War Resisters League (339 Lafayette St., New York, NY 10012) offers 12 short papers on organizing peace efforts in high school and opposing military presence such as JROTC, the ASVAB test, and recruiters.

Pamphlets for student reading

-- "Peace Conversion Study Group" is a 12-page booklet describing how to organize a study group on peace conversion (from the Friends Peace Committee, 1515 Cherry St., Philadelphia, PA 19102; 1980).

-- NARMIC, the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy, and SANE all publish short pamphlets on various aspects of the economic conversion issue and update these pamphlets regularly. Write each of them for a complete listing.

THE MILITARY IN US LIFE

GOALS

To help teachers and students realize the extent to which the military has entered US educational institutions and influences young people and to discover ways of counteracting this influence.

To acquaint students with the basic realities of the military-industrial complex, and its impact on the US economy, and to introduce the notion of "economic conversion" and point out both its desirability and its feasibility.

To encourage students to understand "national security" in other than military terms and categories.

To stimulate research and action on the military-industrial complex in local communities and on the possibility of economic conversion.

I. THE MILITARY AND YOUNG PEOPLE

A. Introductory Activity: To find out where students are in their thinking about military life, ask them what a soldier is, what the military is, how they feel about soldiers and the military. Ask them where they get their ideas and images of military from. For young students, see the activities suggested in the unit on "War", pp. 273-74 , especially the boxed item entitled "Dad, it's OK; they only kill the enemy!"

B. Textbooks and Children's Books

While biographies of peace heroes and fiction stories about nonviolent conflict resolution are more common these days (see the special children's bibliography in the unit on "War and Alternatives"), the special issue of the BULLETIN of the Council on Interracial Books for Children on "Militarism and Education" reports that militaristic values in juvenile fiction is a real problem. Another study in the same issue focuses on an evaluation of 11 of the most popular junior and senior high school social studies texts. Its conclusion: "the information they present about nuclear weapons and the dangers of nuclear war is inadequate, misleading and irresponsible". They were especially concerned that no text raised philosophical questions about the acceptability of war and that the human consequences of war were almost ignored. For instance, 10 of the texts dismiss the effects of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombings in two sentences or less.

C. FEMA (the Federal Emergency Management Agency)

1. Schools: FEMA, the US government's agency for preparing the country for emergencies, has developed a curriculum for students grades K - 12, showing how nuclear war is but one of many disasters and all of them "manageable". The curriculum has been pilotted in 22 states and has begun national distribution. Some school districts have outlawed its use on the basis that "to teach children that nuclear war is a survivable disaster is to teach them that nuclear war is an acceptable political or moral option" (Archdiocese of San Francisco). Showing a film like THE LAST EPIDEMIC to high school students or BUSTER AND ME to elementary students (both from Impact Productions; see unit on "War and Alternatives") would raise questions about the assumption of "survivability" of a nuclear war. Write FEMA (1725 I St. NW, Washington DC 20472) for information on their curriculum and maps of probable targets in a nuclear war.

2. Hospitals: In 1979, FEMA launched an effort to find 50,000 beds in hospitals across the US to be used for casualities from a war that "would begin and end very rapidly and produce more casualities than any other war in history." In September 1981, county doctors in Contra Costa County near San Francisco voted to refuse to cooperate because to do so, in their words, "would offer tacit approval for the planning of nuclear war." A number of hospitals, especially in California, have followed suite, including the University of California and Stanford University's Medical Center. The FEMA plan has generated increasing controversy within the medical community. The American Medical Association and the American Hospital Association have urged participation in the plan, while the American Public Health Association opposes it. Have students identify what they would do and why, if they were a doctor or a hospital administrator asked to participate in the plan. As part of this effort, they might interview a local doctor or administrator. To find out whether your community is participating or has refused to participate in this plan, contact the local chapter of Physicians for Social Responsibility.

3. Civil defense or "crisis relocation planning" FEMA and preparation for nuclear war touches the lives of young and old alike in yet another way. "Crisis relocation planning" would be used during a period of rising international tension, and would have to be ordered by the President at least one week in advance to allow enough time for 2/3 of the US population in "risk" areas to relocate to "host" areas which have already been identified throughout the nation. According to FEMA, the host population would be prepared with immense stockpiles of food, tents, stoves, medical supplies for an estimated two week period. Some communities have complied; others have resisted. Students could investigate their own community to see if it has been designated as either a "risk" area or "host" area and what, if any, decisions have been made. Have them identify whether they would participate and why. Contact the Fellowship of Reconcilation for their Winter 1982-83 issue of LOCAL MOTION for creative ideas on how to respond to this plan.

D. Recruitment

1. Advertisements: Have students bring in advertisements of military recruitment. Perhaps make a display of them. Ask students what they suggest/promise. Then perhaps interview (or have students interview) several military personnel about the truthfulness of these images. In doing any kind of interviewing or having military speakers in class, it is important to keep in mind that the military experience is different for officers than it is for enlisted personnel.

2. The "Delayed Entry Program" (DEP) This increasingly prominent method of recruiting high school students allows for recruits to enlist up to one year before entering active duty, with the promise that the recruit will be able to specialize in a specific area which interest him/her. "DEP recruits sign a binding agreement upon entering the program. They thus become subject to military orders and possible AWOL charges should they fail to report to active duty. While not required to perform military duties until their active duty commences, recruits are urged to aid in recruitment and invited, and sometimes ordered, to attend meetings with their recruiters..."(The Military Delayed Entry Program, p. 1). It is important to remember that persons, places, and life-settings change. A high school student who enlists a year ahead of time may change his/her mind about enlistment. Under the criteria set forth by DEP, they would be unable to withdraw without legal action. For further information see The Military Delayed Entry Program, published by the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors (CCCO).

3. The Armed Services Vocational Aptitude Battery (ASVAB)

a. What is ASVAB and why is ASVAB given in schools?

"ASVAB is a pre-enlistment test battery which predicts male and female students' aptitudes for military jobs. The text, which was developed by the Pentagon in 1966, is offered free to any school that will accept it. During 1975, ASVAB was administered to approximately 1.3 million students in 15,847 schools throughout the country. This Department of Defense testing program represents a unified recruiting effort shared by nearly all the branches fo the military.... The importance of ASVAB to the armed forces is evidenced by the number of people involved in the testing program. Over 1,000 military personnel have been trained as test administrators. The Pentagon exercises strict control over the test and allows only recruiting personnel to administer ASVAB.... ASVAB is an important part of a multi-million dollar recruiting campaign that was launched when the draft went on standby in 1973. Recruiters are using schools to reach as many American young people as possible. Much of the advertising material used by the Pentagon to promote ASVAB tells students that the test will give them a good idea of their talents and help them find the right career. But in internal military documents normally shielded from the public eye, ASVAB is described as a way to "motivate high school and junior college students to enlist in the military by providing a free test service". (Navy Recruiting Command, STANDARD OPERATING PROCEDURES, 1975).

b. Problems with ASVAB and an alternative

"The military's testing program is undoubtedly a great help in channeling young people into the armed forces. Despite this, in the past, there has been a persistent effort to "sell" ASVAB as a valuable tool for career counseling. In sharp contrast to the military's claims and inferences concerning the value of ASVAB for civilian counseling, a Government Operations Committee Staff report discovered that ASVAB does not deliver all that is promised. The report noted that "there is no known study which correlates ASVAB scores with civilian occupational skills". And there is an alternative. The Department of Labor offers a test battery similar to ASVAB called the General Aptitude Test Battery (GATB). The local school must pay approximately 90¢ to have this non-military test graded. Although ASVAB appears to be free, its hidden costs are actually much higher than GATB. The General Accounting Office (of Congress) has estimated that ASVAB actually costs federal taxpayers $4.27 per student tested. What are the advantages of a test like GATB? In contrast to ASVAB, GATB measures students' aptitudes which correlate to success in hundreds of occupations covering the whole world of work. ASVAB is valid only for military job-slots..."

If you have questions about ASVAB or want more information about enlistment and recruiting, the Committee on Militarism and Recruitment at the Friends Peace Committee (1515 Cherry St., Philadelphia, PA 19102) suggests that you contact them. They are the authors of the analysis above.

4. Recruiters in the school: We think it is important for school administrators to examine critically any school policy (or lack of one) that involves including military recruiters in vocational or career days at the school. If that policy permits the presence of recruiters, then students must be helped to evaluate realistically what is said and what kind of written material is distributed. One way of doing so is to have speakers and written material which represent other options (especially conscientious objection) and to which students have equall access. Contact Ron Freund, Chicago Clergy

and Laity Concerned (173 W. Madison, Chicago, IL; 312-899-1800) for information about their successful effort through the courts to provide this balanced approach in the Chicago public schools.

E. Registration for the Draft and Military Service: In addition to the resources mentioned above, see the unit on "Peace and War" in Volume III of this manual for an extensive process for helping young people make a conscientious decision about military service.

F. JROTC (Junior Reserve Officers Training Corps)

The September-November 1980 issue of COUNTER PENTAGON from the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors is a 4-page analysis of JROTC entitled "JROTC in the 1980's". The following excerpts from that analysis give basic factual data about the program. These excerpts are followed by a series of questions that were considered by the school board of Salem, Oregon, when they made their decision on whether to have a JROTC program in their district in 1974, questions we consider essential for any school, school board, or school system considering such a program.

1. What is JROTC?

Junior Reserve Officers Training Corps is a small but vital part of the military establishment. According to a recent statement from the department of the Air Force, the nature of AFROTC is "... to acquaint secondary school students with the aerospace age, to develop informed citizens, strengthen character, promote an understanding of the role of the citizen-soldier in a democratic society, and motivate students for careers in the US Air Force". In order to achieve these objectives, the Air Force asserts that the program helps each student develop:

1. An appreciation of the basic elements and requirements for national security.
2. A respect for and an understanding of the need for constituted authority in a democratic society.
3. Patriotism and an understanding of the personal obligation to contribute toward national security.
4. Habits of orderliness and precision.
5. A high degree of personal honor, self-reliance, and leadership.
6. A knowledge of fundamental aerospace doctrine.
7. Basic military skills.
8. A knowledge of and appreciation for the traditions of the Air Force.
9. An interest in the Air Force as a career.

2. A brief history and some statistics: JROTC began in 1916 when the Army was authorized by Congress to introduce military education programs in public schools. The program remained small and relatively unchanged until Congress passed the ROTC Revitalization Act of 1964 which mandated the expansion of high school ROTC from 254 units to a maximum of 1200 units.

SOME STATISTICS

The 1200 unit ceiling is divided among the various departments of the military: 650 for the Army, 275 for the Navy (including Marines) and 275 for the Air Force. There is a legal requirement that distribution be geographically equitable, but this has not been maintained, and there are an inordinately large number of units in the South and Midwest.

Instructors for JROTC programs are usually retired military personnel. They are officially employees of the school, but local military installations make referrals, and the instructors must please military authorities as well as school administrators. Each unit usually has two instructors--one retired officer and one retired staff noncommissioned officer.

Every unit requires "classroom, office and storage space, as does any other high school activity". For the Marine Corps JROTC units, "proper storage areas are, however, required to ensure adequate security for government property, including target rifles, on loan to the schools".

During the fiscal year 1981, the Army has plans for 670 units, which is in excess of the number of units delegated to them. The total student enrollment for fiscal year 1980 over a nine month period was 99,755. The total budget for fiscal year 1980 was $11,851,000. The Navy had 233 units in operation during fiscal year 1980, with a total student enrollment of 25,400 and a total budget of 5.5 million. The Air Force had 273 units in operation during the fiscal year 1979, with a student enrollment of 31,600 at a total expenditure of 5.2 million.

3. Some Questions:

-- How does the adoption of the JROTC program relate to overall school district planning?

-- Why should this program have priority over other programs being pared for budget reasons? What are the guidelines for deciding which gets cut and which gets added?

-- How do the goals of the JROTC program relate to the goals of the district Career Education Program?

-- How does the school district propose to adhere to the principle of local control of curriculum and personnel policies if the text books used in the course are prepared by the Air Force, the course of study prescribed by the Air Force, and instructors ultimately responsible to the Air Force Command?

-- Is leadership education as defined by the Air Force appropriate for a civilian society in a democracy? Do military officers understand the difference between their authoritarian style of leadership and the kind essential for the maintenance of a democracy?

-- Will the right to dissent and freedom of inquiry be respected or will there be a tendency towards indoctrination of students?

FOOTNOTES:

1. Letter from Anne Wilkinson, Headquarters USAF Freedom of Information Manager, to Robert Abramson, CCCO staff, 2 May, 1980, p. 1.
2. Richard Malishchak, MILITARY TRAINING FOR 14 YEAR OLDS: THE GROWTH OF HIGH SCHOOL ROTC. c. 1974, United Church Press, pp. 7-9.
3. Ibid., p. 7.
4. Letter from Lt. Colonel R.E. Akins, USMC, to Robert Abramson, CCCO staff, 21 April, 1980, p.1.
5. Telephone conversation with LT. Creasey, AROTC management, Fort Monroe, VA, August 12, 1980.
6. Telephone conversation with Capt. Lewis, Manager NROTC, Naval Air Station, Pensacola, Fl. August 11, 1980.
7. Wilkinson, p.3.
8. From the HIGH SCHOOL ORGANIZING PACKET (see RESOURCES above).

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G. Career Options: High unemployment, especially among Black youth, makes the military almost an economic necessity for many unskilled youth. But even for highly skilled professionals, there are fewer non-military options available, as the reflections of the Aldridges and Ray Oliver below indicate. Have students read these reflections and discuss the questions and issues these two engineers have faced on their jobs. Have students interview local defense industry workers or military personnel about the job market and options they had or have and whether they have faced questions or issues similar to Aldridge and Oliver.

II. THE MILITARY AND THE US ECONOMY

A. "Military-Industrial Complex"

1. President Eisenhower's classic statement

Read the following excerpts from Eisenhower's "Farewell Radio and Television Address to the American People", January 17, 1961, where the term "military-industrial complex" was first used, and have the class discuss the statement and the fact that a former Commander-in-Chief of the US Armed Forces was the one to say it:

> "This conjunction of an immense military establishment and a large arms industry is new in the American experience.... We recognize the imperative need for this development. Yet we must not fail to comprehend its grave implications.... In the councils of government, we must guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought, by the military-industrial complex. The potential for the disastrous rise of misplaced power exists and will persist."

2. Basic facts

To get a sense of the size (and influence) of the military-industrial complex, consider these facts:

-- the dollar value of the prime military contracts for the top 100 military industries was more than $89 billion by 1983 (see the list of some of these corporations below).

-- the number of civilians employed by the Department of Defense and by military industries is about 3 million (1.5 million by each).

-- military work absorbs about 50% of the scientific and engineering talent in the US and more than 66% of all federal research and development funds.

To convey these and other facts visually, you might show the 1980 film "WHO'S IN CHARGE HERE?", a 16mm, color, 15-minute film that looks at the impact US military spending exerts on the economy - jobs, taxes, inflation - from a human personal viewpoint; produced by the Institute for World Order, the International Association of Machinists, and the United Nations Association, and available from Operation Turning Point, 777 UN Plaza, New York, NY 10017, for purchase ($120) or rental ($20).

3. "Military dependency": This concept refers to the situation where whole communities are heavily dependent on one or more military installations or military industries for jobs. "Even in the best of times, military production employment is highly uncertain. Contract cancellations and base closings can become a way of life. What happens to production

workers and communities when a military contract or base is lost? Workers face layoffs and communities suffer severe economic disruption."

Certain areas of the US are "military dependent" and present themselves as good case studies for student research projects. They include southeastern Connecticut, St. Louis, southern California, Long Island, and Santa Clara County (south of San Francisco). Other smaller communities are also military dependent in the sense that a single military employer provides a large percentage of the jobs in the entire community - like Oak Ridge, Tennessee. (see map and chart on p.255).

4. "National security": It is not only a sense that jobs would be lost that keeps the US electorate from demanding a conversion of military industries to more socially useful production. It is also a sense that the nation would be less secure. That notion needs to be challenged. One excellent resource for raising this issue and suggesting that national security lies (even more) in other matters as well is the film "You Don't Have to Buy War, Mrs. Smith". It is a powerful 28-minute, black and white, 16mm film of a speech by Bess Myerson Grant on the futility of pursuing peace through a continuous escalation of weapons. After graphically describing various weapon systems, she outlines our real sources of insecurity in this country - poverty, pollution, despair. Then she calls on specific corporations involved in military contracts to produce the kinds of products that would really improve the quality of life. It is available for purchase for only $25 from Another Mother for Peace. You can rent it from our Institute as well, for $10. Whether or not you have time to show the film, you might want to duplicate the excerpts below from the script/speech and have students discuss the questions at the end. See the unit on "War and Alternatives", especially pp. 287-88, for a point-counterpoint approach to this issue.

5. The personal dimension: the story of two defense workers

Working in the military-industrial complex has raised some difficult moral questions and issues for many persons. Workers and their families facing these questions have come to a variety of answers and decisions, usually stretching over years. Two such workers are Robert Aldridge and Ray Oliver, both engineers with over 15 years of employment with their respective military-industrial employers. Aldridge decided to leave this employment for moral reasons. Oliver has decided to remain. If you did not already do so in section IE above, on career options, have the students discuss the questions and do the activities suggested there.

B. Economic Conversion

1. Definition: Simply put, economic conversion means planning for a healthy peacetime economy, avoiding the tragedies of layoffs and community disruptions and providing job security and new job opportunities. The way economic conversion works -- and it has been successful in more than 70 former military installations already -- is through community-based alternative use planning, prior to contract losses or base closings.

2. Introductory activities

-- As a creative way of introducing the need and the possibility of economic conversion, for middle grade and junior high students especially, you might use the "Sticks and Stones and the Dragon" puppet skit by Camy Condon in

PUPPETS FOR PEACE (from the Institute for Peace and Justice, 1984). Students play villagers who find ever more threatening weapons to challenge a dragon living on a near-by hill, whose breath of fire is frightening them. The story/skit ends with students (villagers and the dragon) brainstorming ways in which the dragon's fire can be put to "peacetime" uses.

-- IF is a 5-minute 16mm cartoon (from the United Nations Association) showing the conversion of nuclear weapons production and transportation to life-supporting and enhancing production. It uses no language, only marvelous images and is appropriate for all ages.

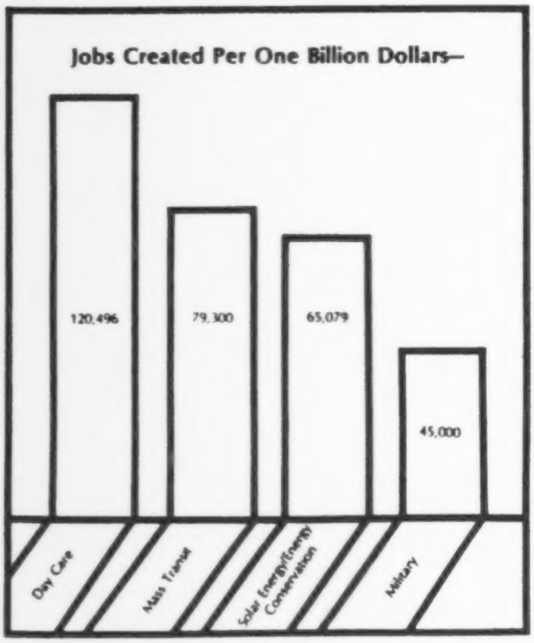
3. Desirability of economic conversion

A. Jobs: Have students research job comparisons -- how many jobs generated by $1 billion spent in military industries as compared with the same amount spent in other sectors of the economy. Have students consider and answer the following questions:

-- What does the author mean by "pork-barrel politics" and do you agree that this is a major reason for military spending? Why or why not?

-- Why does the author consider military spending "an inefficient way to create employment?" Do you agree? Why or why not? Has your own community been helped or hurt by the "targeting" of military spending?

Jobs and Military Spending



(from a 1984 SANE flyer and the Spring 1984 issue of CLOSE-UP, the newsletter of the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy; with permission)

"It is certainly true that military spending creates jobs, but almost any other way of adding to the federal deficit would create at least as many jobs as weapons production. The Defense Department's standard lecture on the employment benefits of military spending, therefore, is not really an argument about employment policy at all, but an old-fashioned exercise in pork-barrels politics. It is safe to say, for example, that the B-1 bomber is being built today only because its parts are made in more than 300 Congressional districts in 48 states. Since every member of Congress is reluctant to vote against programs which mean jobs back home, it is very difficult to gather a Congressional majority to eliminate any particular military program, even when a clear majority in Congress agrees that military spending needs to come down, and that the best way to cut is to make choices among major weapons programs. Pork-barrel politics aside, military spending is an inefficient way to create employment, because it is not targeted to those areas of the country, or to the job skill levels, where unemployment is a severe problem".

b. Competitive production: Have the students identify reasons why Japanese cars, for example, or other foreign cars are often superior to US made cars. One reason has to be that such a large percentage of US scientific and engineering talent and research funds go to the military.

c. Quality of life: Have students read or recall the speech by Bess Myerson Grant below and list areas of life and the economy that could use more financial support and research and development monies and expertise. Certainly, the areas of energy, the environment, schools, public health, mass transit, low and moderate income housing, and adequate day care are pressing needs perennially underfunded because of how much goes to the military.

d. Film: If you didn't show it earlier, you might show "WHO'S IN CHARGE HERE?" (see above), or recall pertinent parts of the film. Also good are the SANE filmstrip narrated by Tony Randall and entitled THE RACE NOBODY WINS; and ACCEPTABLE RISK? (slides or filmstrip, from NARMIC, excellent on nuclear power and nuclear weapons, with a section on economic conversion).

e. Posters: The Riverside Church Disarmament Program has available a number of resources, including a set of six posters graphically illustrating how funds for the military can be better spent for education, housing, jobs, food, health and transportation - $1.00.

4. Feasibility of economic conversion

a. Case studies

-- Most successful examples in the US have been cases involving the conversion of obsolete military bases. Contact the US Department of Defense's Office of Economic Adjustiment for a copy of COMMUNITIES IN TRANSITION for a description of many successful examples.

-- "Solar Options for Military Workers" is a four-page summary (in PLOWSHARE PRESS, Fall, 1978) of a larger study by the Center for Economic Conversion entitled CREATING SOLAR JOBS: OPTIONS FOR MILITARY WORKERS AND COMMUNITIES (November 1978), detailing for the first time the potential for job skill transfer from military to solar production.

-- WE'VE ALWAYS DONE IT THIS WAY is a 52-minute, 16mm 1979 film from California Newsreel (an edited 30-minute version is also available for labor and community groups on a "what you can afford" basis) detailing the efforts of aerospace workers at Lucas Aerospace, a major British firm, to protect their jobs, produce more socially useful products, and challenge management's monopolization of planning and decision-making power. The Center for Economic Conversion can provide additional written information on this case.

b. On-going economic conversion campaigns

For specific examples of on-going campaigns and ways in which your class/school can help in local economic conversion efforts, as well as for information on economic conversion in general, you might contact one of the following:

-- Center for Economic Conversion (222 C. View St., Mt. View, CA 94041; 415-968-8798), working on conversion projects in the Santa Clara County area, publishers of an excellent newspaper 6 times a year on conversion (PLOWSHARE PRESS), and producers of a 30-minute slideshow entitled SWORDS INTO PLOWSHARES: PEACE CONVERSION IN THE SANTA CLARA VALLEY.

-- St. Louis Conversion Project (438 N. Skinker, St. Louis, MO. 63130), working on military dependency in St. Louis, especially with regard to the McDonnell-Douglas Corporation.

-- Highlander Research and Education Center (Rt. 3, Box 370, New Market, TN 37820; 615-933-3433), publishers of OUR OWN WORST ENEMY: THE IMPACT OF MILITARY PRODUCTION ON THE UPPER SOUTH (1983) and HOW TO RESEARCH YOUR LOCAL MILITARY CONTRACTOR.

-- Washington State Conversion Project (225 N. 70th St., Seattle, WA 98103; 206-784-8436), developing job creating alternatives for the Pacific Northwest military economy.

-- Rocky Flats Nuclear Weapons Facilities Project (1660 Lafayette St., Denver, CO 80218), developing conversion plans for the Rocky Flats plutonium plant and other nuclear weapons facilities.

-- Cruise Missile Conversion Project (730 Bathurst St., Toronto, Ontario M5S 2 R4; 416-532-6720), working on Canadian conversion projects.

-- Bay State Conversion Project (639 Massachusetts Ave., #316, Cambridge, MA 02139; 617-497-0605), working on New England area projects and publishers of the BAY STATE CONVERTER newsletter.

-- Oakridge Conversion Group (Knoxville United Ministries, 1538 Highland Ave., Knoxville, TN 37916), working on nuclear weapons and research.

-- FOR/AFSC Nuclear Weapons Facilities Project (Fellowship of Reconciliation), producers of a 20-minute slide presentation THE ATOMIC AGE: A TRAIL OF VICTIMS, on the plight of veterans, civilians nuclear workers, and uranium miners suffering because of exposure to radiation.

c. Legislative efforts: Economic conversion legislative was not successful in the first half of the 1980s. Two bills were being considered by the US House of Representatives in late 1984 -- the Defense Economic Adjustment Act (a comprehensive version of the original McGovern-Mathias bill and introduced by Ted Weiss, but having little chance for passage) and the Economic Conversion Act (introduced by Rep. Mavroules of MA and calling for prenotification about the termination of any military contract and assistance to workers laid off due to military cuts. Contact SANE or the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy for updated information and ways to help.

C. Research the Military-Industrial Complex in Your Own Area

1. Introduction: An excellent way to engage your students in investigatory research and research designed to be socially useful and to discover the realities of the military-industrial complex in their own community or region would be to focus on one or more military-related industries in your community or region. The following methodology and resources are designed for inital research efforts. More sophisticated efforts with a very specific focus would require linking with existing groups/projects or contacting a group like NARMIC (National Action Research on the Military-Industrial Complex), the Council on Economic Priorities, or the Center for Economic Conversion.

2. Identify the military industries in your community or region: Have the class examine the list of the top 22 defense contractors (p.255) and identify those that are based or have facilities in your community or region. The local Chamber of Commerce, the telephone book, and the public library are good sources for this information. For a list of smaller military industries in your community or region, write, as the NARMIC guide on "How to Research Your Local War Industry" suggests, to your Senators, Representative, or to the Department of Defense for a copy of DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE PRIME CONTRACTORS WHICH RECEIVE AWARDS OF $10,000 OR MORE for your state. Consult NARMIC for other possibilities. Post a sheet(s) of newsprint with the names of all the military industries your students could find in your community or region. Perhaps have the students discuss how they found the names, what obstacles, if any, they encountered, and how they felt about the effort.

3. Research one or more of these defense industries: Depending on the size and sophistication of your class, you might choose one military industry for the entire class, or have smaller groups within the class each choose on defense industry. In either case, it might be best to divide up the research tasks, so that each individual has a specific task. If a conversion group/project exists in your region, you might ask them for suggestions and whether your class can help them. Some of the questions/issues to pursue include:

-- the corporation's size (assets, total sales, number of subsidiaries, i.e., other companies wholly or partially owned by the parent corporation);

-- if a multinational corporation, what other countries does it have subsidiaries in and what are the major goods or services of these subsidiaries;

-- the corporation's specific military products

-- its non-military products and services;

-- its efforts at conversion, if any; and,

-- the corporation's importance to the community (number of jobs it provides, amount of taxes it pays, involvement of its leaders in civic affairs, etc.).

For sources of information, the NARMIC guide has many leads, as well as the groups already listed in this unit. Local justice and peace groups should be helpful. Another valuable resource is the reference librarian in the public library.

4. Study economic conversion possibilities for your corporation (s) Again, depending on time and on the quality of the research so far, you might challenge the students to go one step further, namely, to study specific conversion possibilities for the corporation(s) chosen. Interviewing one or more representatives of the corporation would be important - to find out what the corporation has done, is considering, and perhaps raising questions that the corporation should be considering if it is not considering conversion possibilities.

5. Possible follow-up steps

-- Buy a share of stock: The class as a whole, or each small groups, or individuals might purchase one share of stock in the corporation they researched. Then they would receive information sent to all shareholders and can attend the annual shareholder meeting, where they should be encouraged to raise questions.

-- Public education: Students might consider making their research public in some form - perhaps interesting a local paper in doing a story on it, holding a workshop for the public, circulating copies of the research project to appropriate groups in the community (church, business, city council, etc.).

-- Lobbying for conversion efforts: This would be especially appropriate if the research was being done in conjunction with an already existing economic conversion group/project. This might be the logical outcome of the public education efforts just mentioned and might include copies of the research to your Senators and Representative(s). One or more of the conversion groups mentioned in this unit should be consulted on how best to conduct such efforts.

-- Working on alternative technology or alternative job creation projects: This could involve the first step of investigating local needs and possible medical, transportation, alternative energy, etc., possibilities that might be further developed for conversion.

> **"I think it is a terrible thing for a human being to feel that his security and the well-being of his family hinge upon a continuation of the insanity of the arms race. We have to give these people greater economic security in terms of the rewarding purposes of peace."**
>
> **—Walter Reuther, 1969**

"Therefore choose life."

A Lockheed family's blueprint for liberation.

In 1956 Lockheed Aircraft Corporation moved its missile division to the San Francisco Bay area. The plant they built in Sunnyvale was later to become Lockheed Missiles and Space Company. Wanting to get back into aeronautics, Bob hired on in the engineering department and we bought our present home in Santa Clara. Our sixth and youngest child was not quite a year old at the time.

During his first eight years at Lockheed Bob helped design three generations of Polaris missiles. He worked mostly on wind tunnel testing and underwater launch development. During that time he was convinced that building weapons to deter war was his most important contribution to peace. Once a fellow worker engaged him in a philosophical discussion about religion in daily life and asked, "What do you think God wants you to do most of all?"

"Just what I am doing," Bob responded without hesitation. "To help design this missile to protect our country." Although the conversation died at that point, the question bothered him for time to come. But Bob had not yet learned to pay attention when disturbed.

In 1965 Lockheed cornered the Poseidon missile contract and Bob transferred to reentry systems. That is the part of the missile which carries the hydrogen bomb to its destination. He helped design the multiple individually-targeted reentry vehicles (more commonly called MIRVs). MIRVs allow one missile to destroy many targets. Working on these, Bob saw what happens at the other end of the missile's flight.

It bothered him to hear how the Poseidon missile-submarine weapon was evaluated: that system has an "effectiveness" of killing one-quarter of Russia's population. Helping to prepare for such incineration was disquieting. Bob subconsciously resorted to moral self-deception: he dismissed that uncomfortable fact by simply not thinking about it. He did not visualize the killing, maiming, orphaning, and widowing that would take place if Poseidon were ever used, pursuing his work with the superficial awareness that one acquires through the daily newspaper.

Bob's real questioning of nuclear weapons started about 1968. After dinner one evening our oldest daughter, Janie, a sophomore at Santa Clara University at the time, was telling us about some campus demonstrations. Students were protesting against Dow Chemical because it made napalm to use in Vietnam. The discussion went into the wee hours of the morning. Janie expressed her concern that when the Vietnam issue was settled, the protest would turn to the building of nuclear weapons. Bob defended his position: these weapons were needed to prevent Russia from taking over the world. At the least, they were needed until a meaningful treaty could be negotiated. But Janie insisted that people must summon the courage to change their destructive behavior.

Bob was shook. He had worked hard to complete college. His future was promising. We had a large family to support and it just wasn't realistic to think about starting over.

A new consciousness did dawn on us, however. Bob became more aware of what was happening about him at work. He noticed that most of his fellow workers did not really seem convinced that they were defending their country. Patriotic feelings and good intentions took second place to winning contracts and keeping the business going. Lockheed puts much effort on future business—developing new weapons concepts with which to entice the military. The real motive behind the arms race gradually surfaced in our understanding: profits for the company and job security for the workers.

Bob describes how his work environment contributed to his growing uneasiness:

"I observed very little joy within the guarded gates of Lockheed. Only the intellectual surfaced, and that was strictly along the lines of 'me and my project.' That sterile attitude, accompanied by tough competition to gain more responsibility, was the general rule. Why people wanted to gather more and more work under their control always amazed me. I finally diagnosed this 'empire building' as groping for security—a need to become indispensable. But I knew of very few who achieved any degree of permanency. A budget cut or administrative reshuffle could result in being squeezed out of line in the pecking order.

"I did not realize it at the time, but my interior attitude was shifting from a 'thing-relationship' to concern for others—a change which tolled the death knell for my engineering career in the defense industry."

by Janet and Bob Aldridge

(from SOJOURNERS, February 1977, and reprinted with permission)

It was about this time that design studies were started on the new Trident missile. Bob was then a leader of an advanced reentry system design group. He was given design responsibility for the maneuvering reentry vehicle (MARV) for Trident. To acquaint himself with maneuvering technology he reviewed many secret reports which revealed the Pentagon's interest in greater accuracy for missile warheads. Such precision was not needed according to our long-standing deterrent policy, which threatens massive retaliation only if attacked. Increased accuracy is only necessary if the Pentagon is planning to destroy targets, such as missile silos. To do that means shooting first; it doesn't make sense to retaliate against empty silos.

Bob saw this policy switch over three years before it was finally revealed to the American public. It had actually started about 1965 when the United States finished its buildup of intercontinental ballistic missiles and missile-launching submarines. Robert McNamara, Secretary of Defense at the time, said that U.S. emphasis would thereafter be on quality improvements. This led to a more aggressive military policy. Because of the overkill in deterrent capability, it was becoming harder to justify more weapons. But improving the quality still sounded reasonable—and that touched off a new sprint in the arms race.

The new knowledge of how multinational corporations' behavior, the substance of our own livelihood, was oppressing poor people at home and abroad made Bob's position even more untenable. We could see that our superficial involvement in peace work had no real roots. But we also tried to convince ourselves that if we were not enjoying the lush salary and ample fringe benefits from this macabre livelihood, they would only go to someone else. Yet Janet could see that Bob was being torn apart inside because of the work he was performing. She prepared herself psychologically for the impending change.

For over a year we depended on bomb-building for our survival and worked for peace as a hobby.

For slightly over a year we depended on bomb-building for our survival and worked for peace as a hobby. Eventually this hypocritical existence became unbearable. Early in 1972 we agreed that, regardless of the effect our action would have, we had to follow our consciences. We started planning our escape from the military-industrial complex. Bob would have to give up engineering, as it would be practically impossible to find such a job in our area not tied to a military contract.

It was important to us that the children should share in our decisions insofar as they were capable. We talked our plans over with them and answered their questions. At family meetings we let their fears and ours be heard.

We learned from the example of Jim and Shelley Douglas, whom we met in the first months of our "liberation plan." Jim's book, *Resistance and Contemplation: the Way of Liberation*, revealed their struggle to give up security and accept suffering for the whole family.

We had voiced the same fears and asked the same questions, but we hadn't listened well enough to understand the answers. We had to see someone actually try the road before we could venture on it. We had leaned too much on precedents, which were nothing more than crutches for our weak determination. Our subjective morality had to yield. We had to act on our own convictions.

We set the date for January of 1973. Immediately after the Christmas holidays Bob would tell Lockheed he was leaving. We would start the new year with a new life.

Janet started looking for a job immediately. She wanted to work with handicapped children and had been taking courses in vision therapy. But when she found an instructional aide opening in the school system, she took it. Janet adjusted to a work schedule after spending the past quarter century caring for home and children. Her job reflected our desire to deepen our marriage relationship by abolishing the traditional roles of husband and wife, and by sharing all the chores, joys, trials and responsibilities equally. The first overt step toward the transition was made.

During his last month on the job Bob discussed our decision with co-workers. Some were sympathetic and one even congratulated him for making the move. But they could not imagine taking similar action themselves. The need for financial security was too deeply ingrained. That singular fear is probably the greatest obstacle to moral action in today's society.

When the guarded gates of Lockheed clanged shut behind Bob for the last time, we started cutting expenses as an economical necessity. We ate less meat and experimented with new recipes that give a balanced diet at less expense.

Second hand shops became our source of clothing. We discovered ways to reduce spending and new approaches to pleasure without having to "buy" entertainment.

For us, simple living began by revising our work pattern. Work in the traditional sense usually occupied about half of our waking hours; we tended to center our lives around it, which prevented us from seeing our labor in proper context. It had become an end in itself, rather than the means of living; occupational success outshone all other values.

Living on a large salary, measuring success by income, does violence to the 94 percent of the world's population who must survive on only half the global wealth.

Our family has only scratched the surface of simple living. And the overall effort of trying to live a nonviolent life—wife, husband, and children together—is difficult, because affluence has become so deeply ingrained. But the main thing as we see it is that our family is feeling its way. We are trying to be less greedy as we search for ways to reduce our own needs so there will be enough to go around. Life is still scary, but we attempt to follow our consciences and rely on faith. □

Robert Aldridge was a design engineer for Lockheed Missiles and Space Company for 16 years. Janet Aldridge works with the educationally handicapped.

11 years after their decision, Bob reflected on it in an article entitled "Spiritual Battle: The Moral Dilemma of Defense Workers", in the June 1984 issue of the CATHOLIC AGITATOR (excerpted here with their permission).

I want to mention just one more stumbling block, as I see it, and that is fear. Before I left Lockheed, I had a lot of fears about leaving. I've often analyzed them since then. I recognize now that fear is mostly fear of the unknown, of something that is imagined to happen. And when you start imagining these things, it gets very overwhelming. I was in combat in World War II, and when I was going through basic training I was scared stiff, but when I saw combat I was less afraid than at any time, because I had actual tangible things to deal with. So, I found out after I left work that all the fears about possible starvation, poverty, and so forth—most of them didn't even materialize, and the few of them that did, usually came one at a time and were relatively easy to deal with.

The only good answer to that fear is to realize that you are in a moral and spiritual battle. It is only that intangible faith within ourselves that can deal with that intangible fear.

The decision that reverses the arms race is not going to be based on politics or economics or technology. We've been arguing those things for decades and the arguments go on. That which will change the arms race is going to be based on a moral, spiritual decision. It will end when a lot of people see that this is the worst situation that could possibly happen and choose to cooperate with it no more. Ω

Discussion Questions

What was the basis for the Aldridge's decision?

Do you think they made the right decision? Why or why not?

As the family was making the decision, what would you have said if you were one of their 10 children? if you were Janet? if you were Bob?

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"BUT WHAT ARE MY ALTERNATIVES?" by Ray Oliver

Sputnik launched my career into aerospace. I was in high school at the time. The frontiers of space and aeronautics seemed appealing so I proceeded to obtain college degrees in mathematics and aeronautical engineering. From there it was straight into the aerospace industry, where I have remained for over twenty years. I have been on design teams for a space project, for military fighter aircraft, and for several helicopters. My current work is a as a federal employee working for a military agency which issues contracts for military helicopters and regulates their engineering development and testing. Within this organization I am an engineering manager for a portion of a major helicopter program.

For a good many years the arms race did not trouble me. If I acknowledged its existence at all, I thought of it as inevitable technological competition. It first entered my consciousness as a moral problem through vague warnings by my Church leaders. These pronouncements remained vague because neither I nor they pursued the matter much further. Besides, the nuclear arms race seemed to be the main issue, and I worked on conventional weapons.

From this point of semi-consciousness, there was a very gradual emergence of a bigger picture and my part in it. I had certainly embraced a socio-economic system, called by many the military-industrial complex, which thrives on the consumption of huge amounts of valuable resources, ostensibly in the pursuit of the old adage "If you want peace, prepare for war". I came to see many abuses in this system. I saw that military power was often used for purposes I did not agree with, such as intimidation, coercion and punishment of adversaries and innocents alike. I could not in good conscience always support the purpose nor the method employed in the force structure, particularly the nuclear deterrent. The nuclear buildup which started in the late seventies seemed to me to be an immoral, dangerous and unnecessary extension of deterrence. President Reagan's first year in office opened my eyes to a lot of things. And Jonathan Schell's book FATE OF THE EARTH really moved me. Now my youthful fascination with technology is over. I fear that the country is headed in the wrong direction, that the projection of military might is wrong and stupid because one error can mean the end of humankind.

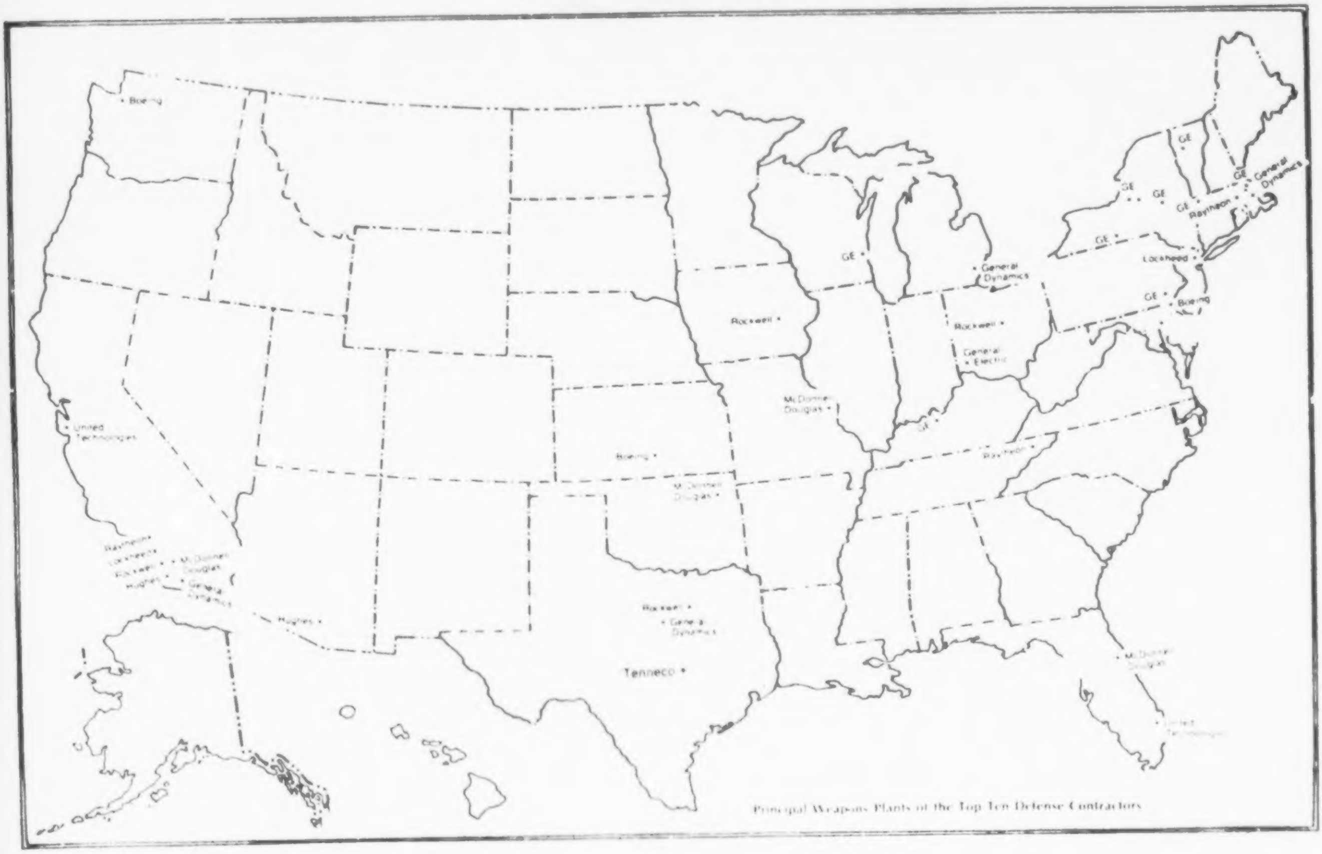
It is difficult to work under these conditions. There is no future in it, in more ways than I care to imagine. One can only attempt to concentrate on the moral aspects of defense work, those dealing with defensive weapons, or technology relating to aircraft safety or survivability, for example. Defense work at its core is legitimate, but as currently practised, I do not consider it by and large socially beneficial. The main purpose seems to me to be profits, employment, and the projection of international power, benefiting the few at the expense of the many.

I'd rather be designing solar energy systems, but society does not choose to pay for such work. Education and experience qualify me best for the job that I have. I have a wife and two children that depend on me, and my employer considers it beneficial to have my services available. So I serve.

I consider working in the defense industry a holding action, nothing more, in pursuit of peace. It is not sufficient as a long term solution. The goal should be the elimination of defense production. Defense workers are beneficiaries of the system in a world that lives with unemployment and poverty. It is important that they consider the greater good, that they be open to disarmament. The dismantlement of nuclear weapons should be the first priority and defense workers must not only consider this possible but should actively pursue it as a goal. They can do this by choosing some means of supporting the serious consideration and implementation of nuclear dismantlement at the highest levels of government. They must be for disarmament.

For myself, I have chosen a process of actively working for peace and justice causes in my spare time. This is accomplished chiefly through my church, through petitioning my Congressman and Senators, and membership in disarmament organizations such as SANE. There is much education of the public which needs to be undertaken. The primary necessity is to get people to realize that peace is possible.

MILITARY DEPENDENCY (from THE DEFENSE DEPARTMENT'S TOP 100,
NARMIC flyer, June, 1984)



Principal Weapons Plants of the Top Ten Defense Contractors

Companies with Prime Contracts Totaling $1 Billion or More	In $millions Sales Totals For FY83	Prime Contract Totals, FY83	Defense-Based Proportion Of Income
1 General Dynamics Corp	7,146,000	6,818,300	.95
2. McDonnell Douglas Corp	8,111,000	6,142,700	.76
3. Rockwell Int'l Corp	8,098,000	4,545,000	.56
4. General Electric Co	28,800,000	4,518,000	.16
5. Boeing Co	11,130,000	4,422,800	.40
6. Lockheed Corp	6,490,000	4,005,700	.62
7. United Technologies Corp	14,670,000	3,867,400	.26
8. Tenneco, Inc	14,500,000	3,762,100	.26
9. Hughes Aircraft Co	4,938,000	3,239,900	.66
10. Raytheon Co	5,937,000	2,728,300	.46
11. Grumman Corp	2,255,000	2,297,700	na
12. Martin Marietta Corp	3,899,000	2,271,900	.58
13. Litton Industries, Inc	4,719,000	2,168,900	.46
14. Westinghouse Electric Corp	9,533,000	1,778,300	.19
15. IBM	40,180,000	1,421,300	.035
16. LTV	4,578,000	1,342,900	.29
17. FMC	3,498,000	1,235,800	.35
18. RCA	8,977,000	1,181,100	.13
19. TRW	5,493,000	1,136 800	.20
20. Sperry Corp	5,076,000	1,132,500	.22
21. Honeywell, Inc	5,753,000	1,113,900	.19
22. Ford Motor Co	44,455,000	1,072,300	.024

Source:Sales totals are from FY 1983 annual reports for each corporation. Prime contract totals are from DOD. Defense based proportion of income for Grumman Corp is not available due to differences in fiscal year dates

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How to Research Your LOCAL WAR INDUSTRY

We at NARMIC are often asked: Which local companies have military contracts to produce weapons and other war products? Which firms are affiliated with one of the huge conglomerates such as ITT? How does one find out more about local defense contracts? Here are some suggestions.

DISCOVERING THE LOCAL MILITARY PRESENCE

1. The best way to start finding out about local military contractors is to write NARMIC for a list of contract awards in your county for the last year. This will give you the names of local contractors, how much money was awarded to them, and what sort of work they are doing. Also available: lists of contracts awarded to particular companies. Send $4.00 to cover costs. (Note: because of the large number of requests received, priority must be given to local action/research projects and so we cannot guarantee to service requests from individuals for information only.)

2. You can also write the Pentagon for a copy of Department of Defense Prime Contractors Which Received Awards of $10,000 or More for your state. This publication is issued annually for each state by the Deputy Comptroller for Information Services, Office of the Secretary of Defense, Washington, D.C. 20301 at a price of $2.00 to $8.00 depending on the size of your state. Each state report includes the prime contractors which received awards of over $10,000 during the fiscal year (October 1 to September 30). The corporations are listed by city, together with the total dollar amount of contracts for each corporation and the total for each city. No information is given about the nature of the contracts.

   (Note: Military agencies award prime contracts to companies which will then often award subcontracts to other firms for parts and supplies needed to fulfill the contract. You should keep an ear open for news of subcontracts awarded to local firms; these are often very important but are usually much harder to track down than prime contracts.)

3. Once you have narrowed your research down to a particular company, you should find out whether it is a subsidiary of a larger corporation. You will need to know this because most sources list contracts only under the name of the parent corporation. Consult Moody's Industrial Manual or Standard Corporation Descriptions (see below, p. 2) for indexes of parent corporations and their subsidiaries.

4. Check the corporation section of the Wall Street Journal Index or the F & S Index of Corporations and Industries (available in large public libraries and university libraries). These indexes generally list military contracts over $1 million, along with a wealth of background articles on other aspects of the companies' activities.

5. Your local newspaper is likely to carry announcements of new defense contracts awarded to local firms. Besides examining the paper regularly, you may be able to consult clipping files at your local library or even at the newspaper's offices. Friendly relationships with reporters can open up possibilities too. Sometimes the press can get information that you can't get yourself.

6. Another important source of information is your U.S. Senator or Representative in Washington. Write to his or her office, asking for a list of all government contracts held locally by the company in which you are interested. Many Senators and Representatives are very conscientious and thorough in supplying information to interested citizens.

7. You may be able to get to know people who work for the corporation who will be willing to supply information. Careful, patient effort is needed in making these contacts, and you must be sensitive to the personal situation of those involved.

8. A word of caution: Even though you find listings of contracts recently awarded to a particular corporation, the firm may claim that it no longer manufactures such weapons. Because the time needed to complete contracts varies widely and indexes may not appear until long after the contract is awarded, it may be difficult to prove that a company is still making a certain item. You should also recognize that in many cases a particular company does not make an entire weapon but only a part of it (for instance, the metal parts of a bomb). To avoid this problem, consider focussing your campaign on the munition as an example of the general nature of the military work of the corporation and also their willingness to accept or consider future contracts.

9. If there is a military base near you, write the base's Public Information Officer for information on its history, mission, and current activities. Find out how many people are stationed there and what role their work plays in the overall military scheme of things. Visit the base some day when it is open for public tours. Get to know soldiers, officers, and civilian employees and find out what life on the base is like.

10. Research on arms exporters presents special problems. If you suspect that a company in your community is selling weapons abroad, and need assistance in tracking it down, write NARMIC for further information.

BACKGROUND SOURCES ON CORPORATIONS

General descriptions of corporations can be found in Moody's Industrial Manual or in Standard Corporation Descriptions. These include only those corporations that are listed on the stock exchanges. You can find one or the other of these sources at your local public library or at a university library. Here you can find a description of the products manufactured, a list of the corporate officers, plant locations, subsidiary firms, information on recent major contracts, and a brief history of the corporation. Both have indexes that give the parent firms of subsidiary corporations. Since the main purpose of these manuals is to assist investors, most of the information is financial data on the corporations: the corporate balance sheets and ratings of their securities.

If the company is too small to be listed in Moody's Industrial Manual or in Standard Corporation Descriptions, try Dun and Bradstreet Million Dollar Directory (for larger corporations) or Dun and Bradstreet Middle Market Directory (for smaller companies). These two directories list most corporations including even modest sized ones, together with their addresses, products manufactured, and names of officers and directors. They also have a geographical index and a general index of products where you can look up which corporations are in your town and what they manufacture.

Finally, if the corporation in which you are interested is not listed in any of the sources above, try Thomas Register of American Manufacturers. It even has listings for companies that are not publicly owned. Volume 7 of Thomas Register lists companies, giving their addresses and brief descriptions of their main products.

Write for the corporation's annual report. It is usually available free from the corporation or can be located in a good business library. Frequently annual reports give useful information about the subsidiaries, products, officers and directors, sales divisions, plant location, and finances of the company. Annual reports are produced mainly for public relations and should be read with a critical eye. The format is usually slick and glossy with lots of pictures - good copy for leaflets.

If you are after biographical information about a corporation's officers and directors, check Who's Who in America and the various regional Who's Whos. Poor's Register of Corporations, Directors and Executives is useful for learning the various corporate boards of directors to which a particular individual belongs.

State and Local Directories

Every state publishes an industrial directory, listing most firms in the state, even small companies. The listings are normally by county and will sometimes indicate whether a firm is locally controlled or managed from the outside. State Industrial Directories Corp. also publishes industrial directories for most states. Its directories list companies by county, with a company index at the end, and indicate the number of employees, plant location, names of directors or local managers, and types of products manufactured. Your local telephone book, especially the "yellow pages", is a valuable research tool. Your local Chamber of Commerce may have brochures which will give a good overview of the local economy. Your state capital maintains files of information on corporations in the state, including official papers which the corporations are required to submit.

Although NARMIC receives the bulk of its funding from the AFSC, a substantial part of NARMIC's operating expenses must be raised from outside contributions. NARMIC membership is a way of helping this crucial research and educational effort to continue. NARMIC members receive periodic mailings of new publications and their contributions help support NARMIC's work. Categories are: $1,000 organizational, $500 associate, $100 sustaining, $25 supporting, $10 individual membership.

Checks may be made payable to NARMIC/AFSC. Contributions are tax deductible.

YOU DON'T HAVE TO BUY WAR, MRS. SMITH

(Excerpts from an address by Bess Myerson Grant, Commissioner of Consumer Affairs for New York City; at The World Mothers Day Assembly of Another Mother for Peace, San Francisco, May 9, 1970)

... Now, I believe in defense. I don't deny sometimes it's a dangerous world. And in a dangerous world a country must plan its defense. But how many times over do we have to be capable of killing everyone on God's green earth in order to be secure? And are we made more secure by multiplying the number of weapons?

There have been some very close calls. Dr. Ralph Lapp, one of the scientists who developed the atomic bomb, wrote a report of a plane loaded with nuclear warheads which crashed in North Carolina. Four of the five safety catches on the bombs opened. If the fifth catch had gone, too, the entire state would have been wiped out.

This was denied by the Pentagon, then later confirmed in Congressional hearings.

Ever hear of Goose Creek? If the Polaris nuclear warheads stockpiled there went off accidentally, they would take all of South Carolina and parts of North Carolina and Georgia.

Experts at the Mershon Center for Education in national security have estimated on the basis of the number of weapons stored in the United States, the miles per year covered in transporting them, the crash rate of weapon carriers, etc., that "the chances are one in one hundred that a US nuclear weapon will explode accidentally sometime in the next ten years".

This is where nuclear weapons are located and stockpiled within the United States...and where chimical and biological warfare weapons are researched, developed, tested, produced, and stored...This is our security:

Bombs and botulism in our back yards.

And they say it's not enough. At this moment the military appropriations bill is before Congress. The Pentagon is asking $73.6 billions more for death and destruction!

We've heard the sales pitch for years. You know how it goes: "Well, where do you want to fight those Commies? Do you want to fight them in Union Square, Times Square or Wilshire Boulevard?" Well, we've learned something. That while our sons have been sent out to the jungles of the world to fight the enemy, the enemy is here. The enemy is in Union Square -- in Times Square -- and especially on Wilshire Boulevard -- it's smog.

The enemy is in Appalachia and the ghettos of Harlem and Watts -- it's hunger and despair.

The enemy is polluted water -- and air. The enemy is polluted hope. Pollution is not healthy for children and other living things. But while we choke in our cities, our money is spent on nerve gas. Poverty is not healthy for children and other living things. But while millions of children go to bed hungry every night, our scientists are working on better biological weapons to destroy crops. Our cities are burning, and we're devoting our national resources to napalm for the straw huts of Indochina.

Why? Because there are profits to be made on Pentagon products. And there are thousands of companies that are involved. Some of them are very familiar names to us homemaker-consumers....

Each day it becomes clearer to us that we consumers must act in self-defense...in defense of the health of our families -- of our society. We must stop buying war: at last we know with all that is under us, and all that is over us, and all that passes across our land, it's like going to sleep each night with a vial of nitroglycerine under our pillows -- a larger and larger vial of nitroglycerine under our pillows each night. That is not security. We must draw the finish line to the arms race, because it is clear that the brilliant technology that took our astronauts to the moon will, if unchecked, take us all to the moon -- and without rocket ships.

Another Mother for Peace calls upon General Motors: Get out of the war business. Make us a car that won't pollute our air -- we'll buy it.

Another Mother for Peace calls on Dow Chemical: Get out of the war business. Make us a detergent that won't pollute our waters -- we'll buy it.

Another Mother for Peace calls upon General Electric: Get out the war business. Design us cities that are livable.

Another Mother for Peace calls upon Whirlpool: Get out of the war business. Develop new disposal equipment -- clean up our landscape.

We call upon Bulova Watch, we call upon Hamilton Watch: recognize the time is now ... Honeywell ... Alcoa ... Westinghouse ... Reynolds ... Automatic Sprinkler ... Zenith ... Motorola ... RCA ... Get out of the war business. Make us products that give quality to life. Make us proud again of our American know-how.

War profits are without honor in this desperate time.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. Do you agree that the US has equally dangerous "enemies" in pollution, hunger, and despair? Why or why not?

2. What other "enemies" would you name and why?

3. What benefits do we as a nation and as individuals gain from our military forces and nuclear arsenal?

4. Do these benefits offset the risks of nuclear accident and nuclear war and the deterioration of our economy and the quality of life in this country? Why or why not?

5. If the benefits don't offset the risks and deterioration, then why does the present situation continue?

6. What corporations that you buy from or that are located in your community could you address as Bess Myerson Grant addressed at the end? What could you say to them?

WAR & ALTERNATIVES

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

OUTLINE OF THE CONTENTS

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- A. Some Preliminary Concerns
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- A. Can We Do Anything?
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- E. Adaptation of the Elementary Action Possibilities
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- G. A Case Study in Nonviolence: The Tracks Campaign
- H. A Process for Decisions, Planning and Implementation

STUDENT READINGS:

-- "Hiroshima and Beyond" and "Nuclear War and YOur Own City"
-- "The Nuclear Threat" and "Chief Joseph and War"
-- "How to Avoid Death and Taxes"
-- "World War Game"
-- Case Study in Nonviolence: The Tracks Campaign

TEACHER DIRECTIONS

For Teachers of Elementary School Students

The whole first part of this unit is specifically designed for elementary teachers and is relatively self-contained. It has its own introduction and outline. Depending on the extent of the study and student ability, tachers of middle grade students might also use other parts of this unit -- for instance, the Chief Joseph excerpt in section I; the TV, Sports, and video game activities and the "World War Game" simulation in II; the film THE HAT on world law in III; "The Arms Race-Peace Race" activities and "In School" action suggestions in IV; and the readers theater version of SADAKO AND THE THOUSAND PAPER CRANES. The action component of this unit is especially important for students of all ages. As a process for promoting this dimension, we suggest evaluating the various action possibilities as a class, inviting in a speaker working on one or more of them, having students share their decisions with one another, encouraging possible small group as well as whole class actions, and providing time to evaluate their actions.

For Teacher of Older Students

We recommend presenting the concepts from all four sections of the older students part of this unit and make time to show at least a couple of the AVs suggested. The visual impact is crucial and leads to the fourth section on action possibilities. This action dimension is vital and we suggest using the same process as outlined above for elementary teachers, as well as the "process for decisions, planning and implementation" at the end of Section IV. Sections II and III on the causes and alternatives to war do not pretend to present all possible considerations, only those most commonly considered. Teachers might invite students to look into additional causes and alternatives.

In terms of evaluating the various alternatives to war presented in section III, we suggest the following process: have students 1) keep a record/journal of some sort in which they identify the pro's and con's (advantages and disadvantages) of each strategy option as it is presented; 2) choose the one(s) they think provide the best alternative(s) to war; 3) do some kind of report in which they develop the reasons for their choice and identify possible ways in which they could promote that alternative; and possibly 4) present their report and/or perhaps also bring a speaker to class to speak to their alternative and how to promote it.

This unit overlaps with several other units in this volume, especially the arms race and deterrence concepts in Sections II and III with the units on "US-USSR Relations" and "The Military-Industrial Complex", the United Nations and World Law concepts with the unit on "Global Interdependence", and section IV with the action suggestions from most of the other units. If you are not planning on doing some of these other units, be sure to consider incorporating the pertinent data, activities, and action possibilities into this unit.

In Relation to the Other EPJ Volumes

Volume I: the unit on "Nonviolent Conflict Resolution" is especially pertinent as part of a preliminary study for considering nonviolent alternatives for resolving international conflicts. The units on "Racism", "Multicultural Education", and "Sexism" can be included in considering additional causes of war.

Volume III: is especially appropriate for teachers in religious educational settings. The units on "Today's Peacemakers", "The Meaning of Peace", the section on patriotism in "Gospel-Culture Contrasts", and "Peace and War" all expand the range of concepts and activities on the issue and provide an explicitly religious (mostly Christian) dimension to the study. But public school teachers would also benefit from "Today's Peacemakers" for its extensive resources on 19 contemporary peacemakers, the Gandhian dimension and most of the activities in "The Meaning of Peace", the process for making a conscientious decision about the draft and several other activities in "Peace and War".

SPECIAL RESOURCES

(See also those listed in "US-USSR Relations" and "The Military-Industrial Complex")

Bibliographies

-- COPRED's Peace Education Network published a "Bibliography of Bibliographies" in the fall of 1984. The best individual bibliographies include:

-- Educators for Social Responsibility, ESR 1983 BIBLIOGRAPHY OF ANNOTATED NATIONAL RESOURCES, BOOKS, AND ARTICLES (from ESR), a 39-page addendum to the 1982 ESR bibliography, and covering elementary through adult resources; $5.00.

-- Nuclear Information and Resource Service, GROWING UP IN A NUCLEAR AGE: A RESOURCE GUIDE FOR ELEMENTARY TEACHERS (from NIRS, 1346 Connecticut Ave. NW, Washington, DC 20036) includes a listing of children's books, $5.00.

-- Evelyn Weiss, PEACE TEACHING AND CHILDREN: RESOURCES FOR TEACHERS AND PARENTS, K-6 (from the Riverside Church Disarmament Program, 490 Riverside Dr., New York,NY 10115) describes 60 of the most important resources for this age level; 50c.

-- Wilmington College Peace Resource Center, ANNOTATED RESOURCE LIST (from Wilmington College, Pyle Center, Box 1183, Wilmington, OH 45177) describes the various resources in their Hiroshima/Nagasaki Collection.

-- NUCLEOGRAPHY: AN ANNOTATED RESOURCE GUIDE FOR PARENTS AND EDUCATORS ON NUCLEAR ENERGY, WAR, AND PEACE (from Nucleography 2847 Fulton St., Berkeley, CA 97705) is one of the most comprehensive ones available; $5.00.

-- PEACE EDUCATION PACKET (from the Christophers, 12E. 48th St., New York, NY 10017) contains a 26-page bibliography of peace resources, an 8-page listing of peace education resources and groups and college programs, and a 6-page listing of US groups working for peace.

-- LITERARY AND ARTISTIC IMAGES OF THE HUMAN COST OF WAR: AN INTRODUCTION TO THE PROBLEM AND AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY of works suitable for Junior/Senior High School, from WAR/WATCH Foundation, P.O. Box 487, Eureka Springs, AR 72632.

In terms of audio-visual resources two of the best bibliographies are:
-- 1984 NATIONAL DIRECTORY OF AUDIOVISUAL RESOURCES OF NUCLEAR WAR AND THE ARMS RACE (from the Michigan Media Resources Center, University of Michigan, 400 4th St., Ann Arbor,MI 48103) includes a listing of all the places in the US where each of the many AVs described can be rented; $4.00.
- John Dowling, WAR/PEACE FILM GUIDE (from the World Without War Council, Chicago) is an extensive (188 pages) for AVs up to 1980, $2.50.

For teacher (and older student) background reading

-- John G. Stoessinger, WHY NATIONS GO TO WAR (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1978) offers a case study approach (World War I, Hitler's attack on Russia, the Korean War, the Viet Nam War, the India-Pakistan wars and the Arab-Israeli wars) to the causes of war and concludes that a major cause of war has to do with the personalities and misperceptions of the individual leaders of the nations involved.

-- Richard Barnet, ROOTS OF WAR: THE MEN AND THE INSTITUTIONS BEHIND US FOREIGN POLICY (New York: Penguin, 1976, 350 pp.) is a forceful, clear analysis of the forces which have kept the US in a succession of wars for more than a generation.

-- Ruth Sivard, WORLD MILITARY AND SOCIAL EXPENDITURES (World Priorities, Box 1003,Leesburg, VA 22075) is a yearly comparison and analysis of country-by-country expenditures on military concerns vs. a range of social needs; $3.00.

-- Gerald and Patricia Mische, TOWARD A HUMAN WORLD ORDER (see unit on "Global Interdependence"); excellent on present global insecurities ("national security straitjacket") and the need for global mechanisms to provide alternative sources of security. Their "Whole Earth Papers" series updating the book has excellent 60-p. 1980 issue on world law, Securing the Human.

-- Johathan Schell, THE FATE OF THE EARTH (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1982) is an eloquent analysis of the devastating consequences of a major nuclear attack; $11.95.

-- Ernie Regehr and Simon Rosenblum, Eds., CANADA AND THE NUCLEAR ARMS RACE (Toronto: Lorimer, 1983) is a collection of 15 essays examining Canada's role in the nuclear dilemma.

-- Robert Aldridge, FIRST STRIKE! (Boston: South End Press, 1983) and his articles that often appear in GROUND ZERO newletter (see "The Tracks Campaign" case study) for this former Lockheed missile designer's analysis of US weapons systems and policies.

Alternative or supplementary sources for classroom activities

-- Camy Condon and James McGinnis, PUPPETS FOR PEACE (Institute for Peace and Justice, 1984) is a 48 page guidebook for elementary teachers that presents a variety of participatory puppet skits and chants with directions for teachers on how to do them themselves, on peacemaking at both interpersonal and international levels; $5.00 includes mailing.

-- James McGinnis and others, PARTNERS IN PEACEMAKING: FAMILY WORKSHOP MODELS GUIDEBOOK FOR LEADERS (Institute for Peace and Justice, 1984) offers 14 different formats/ models for teaching peacemaking to children and adults in intergenerational settings; $10.75 includes mailing.

-- PERSPECTIVES: A TEACHING GUIDE TO CONCEPTS OF PEACE, K-12 (Educators for Social Responsibility, 1983; $12.95) is ESR's excellent 400-page curriculum for K-6 and 7-12 grades. Each part consists of four basic themes: concepts of peace, peacemaking and conflict resolution, peacemakers, and imagining the future; with 7-12 part adding an extensive section on obstacles to peace.

-- PARTICIPATION (also from ESR) is a late 1984 curriculum for K-12 that addresses the fatalism rampant among many schoolchildren, by focusing on action possibilities for young people.

-- CHOICES: A UNIT ON CONFLICT AND NUCLEAR WAR (from the National Education Association, 1201 16th St. NW, Washington, DC 20036; 1983; $10) is the NEA's and Union of Concerned Scientists' excellent 144-page junior high curriculum, with 10 lessons and a number of valuable appendices; also appropriate for senior high students.

-- Betty Reardon, MILITARIZATION, SECURITY, AND PEACE EDUCATION: A GUIDE FOR CONCERNED CITIZENS (from United Ministries in Education, Valley Forge, PA 19481, 1984; $4.50; supplementary packets $8.50) cover a range of peace and justice concerns for all levels.

-- Student/Teacher Organization to Prevent Nuclear War (STOP, P.O. Box 232, Northfield, MA 01360) has assembled a collection of high school course syllabi on nuclear war and serves as a clearinghouse for such material.

-- For college level approaches, United Campuses to Prevent Nuclear War (UCAM, 1346 Connecticut Ave NW, Washington, DC 20036) has printed a summary of 100 course syllabi from various US campuses as well as information packet on how to get through curriculum committees and other obstacles to college level peace education.

-- "The Nuclear Threat: An Issue for the Classroom?" is the title of the March-April 1984 issue of THE ATA MAGAZINE (From the Alberta Teachers Association, Barnett House, 11010 142nd St., Edmonton, Alberta T5N 2R1). An excellent collection of strategies, resources, and reflective articles on peace education.

For Student Reading

-- Roberta and Joseph Moore, THE PROBLEM OF WAR: A GLOBAL ISSUE (Hayden Books, 50 Essex St., Rochelle Park, NY 07662; 1980, 144 pp; $6.00) is a high school text exploring the effects of war, the human and structural causes of war, a variety of ways of preventing war, and a short chapter on "You and War". Excellent.

-- William Nesbitt, TEACHING ABOUT WAR AND WAR PREVENTION (Foreign Policy Association, 1972) is a high school text to which this unit has referred several times. Good though a little dated. Nesbitt's HUMAN NATURE AND WAR (from the Center for International Programs and Comparative Studies, 99 Washington Ave., Albany, NY 12210, 1973) contains 13 2-4 page essays on the instinctual and social learning theories on violence and war.

-- OUR FUTURE AT STAKE, A Teenager's Guide to Stopping the Nuclear Arms Race, from the Citizens Policy Center (1515 Webster St., #401, Oakland, CA 94609. A collection of activities, information and personal statements from teenagers.

-- Lens, Sidney, THE BOMB (New York, Lodestar Books, 1982) For Jr.-Sr. High.

For Regular updating

-- THE DEFENSE MONITOR, the monthly publication of the Center for Defense Information, is the best single source of updated information on these issues.

-- NUCLEAR TIMES is a popular monthly magazine with a disarmament/Freeze perspective and covers a wide range of peace/war issue; $15/year, from Nuclear Times, Inc. Room 512, 298 Fifth Ave., New York, NY 10001.

-- The newsletters and other mailings from the Coaltion for a New Foreign and Military Policy, SANE, the Nuclear Freeze Office, and other groups mentioned in this unit are excellent ways of getting information in small packages.

Children's Books (note recommended ages or levels for each)

-- Armstrong, Louise, HOW TO TURN WAR INTO PEACE, (upper elementary) deals with terminology of war and peace from viewpoint of conflict between children; suggests cooperation as solution.

-- Bauer, Marion Dane, RAIN OF FIRE, Clarion Books, (5th grade and up) an anti-way story about 2 brothers, their feelings about WW II and Hiroshima, 1984 Jane Addams Peace Association Award Book.

-- Benson, Bernard, THE PEACE BOOK, Bantam books, children try to stop arms race by talking to leaders of major countries. (Upper elementary)

-- Coerr, Eleanor, SADAKO AND THE THOUSAND PAPER CRANES, Dell Yearling, 1977, (middle grades) A gentle presentation of Sadako Sasaki, 11-yr old victim of Hiroshima bombing.

-- Cosgrove, Stephen, THE MUFFIN MUNCHER, Price Stern, 1975 (young) and
-- De Paola, Tomie, KNIGHT AND THE DRAGON, Putnam, 1980 (young) Two tales of cooperation, good for puppet plays.

-- Erickson, Russell, A TOAD FOR TUESDAY, Lothrop, 1978 (ages 8-12) Toad changes owl from an enemy to a friend.

-- Fatio, Louise/Duvoisin, Roger, THE HAPPY LION AND THE BEAR, McGraw Hill, 1964 (young).

-- Foreman, Michael, MOOSE (1972) and THE TWO GIANTS (1967) (both for young) In first, moose gets caught in middle of conflict between Bald Eagle and Bear, helps encourage cooperation. In second, allegory of US-USSR relations, two giants learn to cooperate instead of trying to divide world.

-- Jampolske, Gerald, ed. CHILDREN AS TEACHERS OF PEACE, Celestrial Arts, 231 Adrian Road, Millbrae, CA 94032, 1982. Book of drawings, poems, letters to world leaders on peace by children. (All ages)

-- Leaf, Munro, FERDINAND, Viking Press, 1936, Classic tale of peace-loving bull, (young).

-- Leonni, Leo, THE ALPHABET TREE, Pantheon 1968, letters learn to cooperate to make words, sentences and eventually a message of peace. (Very young)

-- Maruki, Toshi, HIROSHIMA NO PIKA, Lothrop, Lee & Shepard, 1982, (grades 4-6), a poignant story of effects of bombing of Hiroshima on one family.

-- Muller, Jorg, and Steiner, Jorg, THE SEA PEOPLE, Schocken. 1982, (grades 4-6), English translation of German picturebook about two neighboring islands with different values. When people of large island try to dominate people of small one, they must learn new way to live.

-- Piatti, Celestino, THE HAPPY OWLS, Atheneum, 1964 (very young) Other birds are interested in reason for owls' peace and happiness, but scoff at simplicity of their answer and continue their discontented ways.

-- Ringi, Kjell, THE STRANGER, Random House, 1968 (pre-school-3rd) The reactions of a village to a stranger who is so tall his face can't be seen, but who becomes friends with villagers; useful for discussing differences between people, enemies, stereotypes, aggression, war, peace & communication.

-- Seuss, Dr., THE BUTTER BATTLE BOOK,Random House, 1984, The Yooks and Zooks engage in an arms race which mirrors that of US-USSR; open-ended, good for discussion (young and up).

-- Wahl, Jan, HOW THE CHILDREN STOPPED THE WARS, Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1969.

-- Wondriska, William, JOHN, JOHN TWILLIGER, Holt, Rinehard & Winston, 1966 (middle grades) gives the message that dictators are human and reachable.

-- Zaramboulke, Sofia, IRENE, Tee Loftin Publishers, from Educators for Social Responsibility, a beautifully illustrated fable about peace including a play for young children.

-- Zim, Jacob, MY SHALOM, MY PEACE, McGraw-Hill, Sabra Books, 1975. A moving collection of paintings and poems on peace by Arab and Jewish children.

Books about Peacemakers:
-- Meyer, Edith Patterson, IN SEARCH OF PEACE: THE WINNERS OF THE NOBEL PEACE PRIZE 1901-1975, Abingdon, Stories of Alfred NObel and 58 recipients (middle)

-- Lehn, Cornelia, PEACE BE WITH YOU, Faith and Life Press, 1980 (young and up) 59 stories of peace heroes, from 1st century to present, various countries, young and old.

On Gandhi: Eaton, Jeanette, GANDHI: FIGHTER WITHOUT SWORD, Morrow, 1950, (middle and Jr. High)
--Fisher, Louis, GANDHI: HIS LIFE AND MESSAGE (Jr High - Adult)

On Martin Luther King: Patterson, Lillie, MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR and CORETTA SCOTT KING (for young children)
-- Clayton, Edward, MARTIN LUTHER KING: THE PEACEFUL WARRIOR, Prentice-Hall, 1969, (For primary and middle grade students).
-- Wilson, Beth, GIANTS FOR JUSTICE: BETHUNE, RANDOLPH AND KING, (middle grade and junior high).

On Jane Addams: -- Keller, Gail, JANE ADDAMS, Crowell, 1971 (for young) -- Jane Addams, TWENTY YEARS AT HULL HOUSE, Macmillan, 1930 (Jr. High & up)

On Dorothy Day: -- YOUNG AND FEMALE: TURNING POINTS IN THE LIVES OF EIGHT AMERICAN WOMEN, Random House, 1972.

On Chief Joseph: -- CHIEF JOSEPH'S OWN STORY, AS TOLD BY CHIEF JOSEPH IN 1879 (Montana Reading Publications, Billings, Montana, 1972).

FOR ELEMENTARY SCHOOL STUDENTS

Introduction: As Section A reveals, even primary grade children and pre-schoolers are having to deal with the threat of nuclear war. Rather than pretend they are not or try to shield them from such awesome realities, our task as educators is to help them deal with the feelings and images they already have and develop life-affirming, hopeful, peacemaking responses to the people and situations around them. While many aspects of the war-peace issue are clearly inappropriate for primary students, there are a number of concepts that are appropriate and a wide variety of ways in which even primary students can be peacemakers, both at the interpersonal and the international levels. Section A examines the overall question of what to tell children, when and how, offering basic principles for dealing with children about the threat of nuclear war. Sections B and C identify some aspects of the peace issue appropriate for this age group and offer both classroom activities and action possibilities for implementing these aspects. Some of the activities and actions for each of these aspects are described in detail in various units in Volume I as well as other units in this volume. Before proceeding further, consider this plea from Eli Wiesel, author of THE TESTAMENT, JEWS OF SILENCE, and other books:

> "Death: one hesitates to talk about it to children. Why frighten them? They wouldn't understand anyway. And yet we must make them understand. We must tell them they live in a world where the impossible is possible, and the unimaginable is part of the real world....We must show them the global dimension of what we call nuclear peril....The misfortune of their generation is also ours; rather than absolute truth, we have created absolute arms....One might say that humanity has lost its sense of reason. Or its desire to go on living. Otherwise, humanity would find ways to fight against its own course toward suicide. But since it does not, children will have to do it for humanity. After all, it's their future which is in jeopardy. This is what we educators must try to tell them...The future victims should have the right to speak out...I make this appeal to children and young people. I have less confidence in adults. More than ever before, salvation will come from our children.

A. What to Tell the Children

1. What Children are thinking and feeling: The following letter from a parent reveals how much even very young children are exposed to and the kinds of feelings and questions more and more of them are having:

> "My main questions are how much should we involve them? How much should we tell them? How will they handle it? Yesterday my 2½ year old Klass suddenly hit the floor spread-eagled on his stomach and announced, 'When the bombs come and buildings crash down, you have to go like this.' He and Janna have been fascinated and moved by the pictures of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon they have seen in the newspaper. I've answered their questions concretely with the information they have asked for. I've tried to keep the answers to why questions short, simple and honest but that's hard. I find myself avoiding any response to their own situation. I can't bring myself to agree with them that if the bombs came here Papa would fix the house again. Nor can I say they will never come here. Instead I said, 'That man (in the picture) couldn't build his house up again but he and the mama found a new place for the children.'"

The film/videotape IN THE NUCLEAR SHADOW: WHAT THE CHILDREN CAN TELL US (from Impact Productions, 1725 Seabright Ave, Santa Cruz, Ca 94062 reveals how vivid the images and how deep the feeling of fear, hopelessness and powerlessness are in children with regard to the threat of nuclear war, even in 6 to 9 year olds. Teachers should see this film before teaching about peace, and you might show it to the parents of your students as well.

2. How to respond: BUSTER AND ME, a 20 minute film/videotape muppet-type presentation on children's feelings, questions and actions on nuclear war, also from Impact, demonstrates the kind of adult behavior that young children apparently need to handle their fears - understanding, warmth, taking action. A number of people have written on this question recently:

-- Bill Drake, OUR CHILDREN: NUCLEAR EDUCATION AND NUCLEAR FEARS (an excellent 20-page study available from him at Box 394, Weimar, CA 95736, $3.50) He says:

> "Both in educating our children on nuclear issues and in helping them deal with their fears, we must keep in mind their needs and their stages of development. We must try to help our children develop an inner strength before exposing them to harsh adult realities that would weaken them and lessen their ability to face and deal with these realities at a later time.
>
> "It is better to introduce intense material a little late than a little early, as far as the possible consequences for the child... We must be careful that 'nuclear education material does not become nuclear nightmare material.' For the young child, the focus should be on caring for people and the work, and on 'peacemaking', as exemplified by the child's environment and its adults.
>
> "Nuclear education must be balanced with having first taught respect for life. Caring for the earth and its people should be shown in many ways besides anti-nuclear work. Otherwise, the imbalanced focus would likely come more from a fear of death than from a desire to preserve life.
>
> "While we must avoid creating fears in our children, it is imperative that we deal with whatever fears they do happen to develop. In handling children's fears, focus on a positive image to counteract the fear, and deal with any existential questions that are beneath the fear..."

-- Peggy Shirmer, in "Helping Children Deal with The Nuclear Threat", in BULLETIN of the Council on Interracial Books for Children (Vol. 13, Nos. 6 and 7- the whole issue is entitled "Militarism and Education") speaks to these fears:

> "The fears of pre-school children often reflect inner emotions they are trying to control... They rely on people close to them, especially their parents, to help them. They still believe their parents are all-powerful, so it is the assurance of parents' love and protection that is most effective in calming young children's fears of nuclear, or any other, danger. Even pre-schoolers realize that bombs are meant to hurt and older children also need assurance... It helps to answer children's questions briefly with the assurance that parents and other adults are trying to do something about the threat of war... Participating in anti-war activities with adults or on their own can also lessen children's fears.

"Educating children for peace requires that we recognize and deal with the anxieties that the thought of nuclear war provokes. It is also of primary importance that we provide role models by participating in the movement to end the nuclear danger -- and that we teach children that they too can have a role in stopping this madness. In the very process of taking action ourselves we become more able to talk to children and more valuable role models. Allied with us, they can find their own appropriate forms of action."

B. Key Concepts and Implementation Possibilities

1. "Peace-ing - Active images of peace: Young children need to develop positive, active images of peace, to counteract the often exciting images of war and violence. Have students express their understanding of peace in action terms ("as a verb") in any number of creative ways -- drawing, poem, song, pictures of people doing peace. Done at the beginning of a study of peace, you can have the students compare their initial understandings/images here with what they come up with in the envisioning and action activities at the end.

2. Affirmation and cooperation: Peacemaking requires a healthy sense of self-esteem. Self-esteem is essential for developing compassion and in caring for others. Neither children nor adults can reach out to others if they do not feel comfortable with themselves. Further, peacemaking is sometimes a public and even a risky undertaking. No one, children or adults, is capable of going public, if they do not feel good about themselves. Without self-esteem we look for acceptance through conformity. We are afraid to stand out. Nurturing children's sense of self-esteem by affirming their efforts and by providing opportunities to develop their talents is an enormously important part of enabling them to become persons who are willing to take a stand -- peacemakers. Specific implementation possibilities are:

-- Play cooperative games (see resources like Stephanie Judson's MANUAL ON NON-VIOLENCE AND CHILDREN, Friends Peace Committee; and the NEW GAMES BOOK.)
-- Classroom sharing and cooperation.
-- Make "affirmation silhouettes" by tracing one another on large sheets of paper and filling in, then discussing how it felt; and find other ways of students building each other up vs. tearing down (see Priscilla Prutzman, FRIENDLY CLASSROOM FOR A SMALL PLANET: Children's Creative Response to Conflict Program, Box 271, Nyack, NY 10960).
-- Give a public performance, as in Gandhi's schools in which students grow in self-esteem by singing, dancing, reading, etc. in front of their peers and develop their ability to stand up in public.
See also units on "Mutuality in Education" and "Nonviolent Conflict Resolution" in Volume I for both this and the following concept.

3. Nonviolent conflict resolution:
--Reward peaceful play on the playground and teach nonviolent problem-solving skills to the children See PUPPETS FOR PEACE videotape and Guidebook.
-- Be a model of nonviolent conflict resolution and discipline with your students and involve them in mutual decision-making process whenever you can.
-- Nurture tenderness, compassion, and nonviolence in boys as well as girls. CHILDCARE SHAPES THE FUTURE: ANTI-SEXIST STRATEGIES is an excellent 2-part filmstrip from the Council on Interracial Books for Children on ways schools as well as parents can counteract the "macho" development of boys that contributes to violence and war.

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4. Respect for life: Recognition of the basic dignity of each person is the fundamental building-block of peacemaking. We nurture this respect for life in children when we:
-- encourage their sense of respect for one another, especially less popular students, and challenge name-calling especially if directed at people with disabilities and other differences;
-- encourage caring for others including older members of their own extended family and even animals.

5. War toys and alternatives: As stated in a position paper entitled "Children and War" by the Association for Childhood Education International: "To the war games which children have played in all times and in most cultures have been added toys that explode, dolls that bleed, death rays that topple, tanks or ambulances that roar to the kill."

Some alternatives:
-- help children become more aware of the dimensions of their play; i.e., help them think through their acting out of "soldiering" - the stalking, shooting, dying, etc. Can some other form of play capture the same sense of adventure?
-- demystify war toys; for example, perhaps guns could be talked about in terms of tools (for obtaining food) and sports equipment. And perhaps children could find other tools and sports equipment much more interesting. A sinple story book for young children is Beverly Breton's A GUN IN NOT A TOY (Stop and Grow Book Nook, Wilde Lake Interfaith Center, Columbia, MD 21044 and also printed in STORIES FOR FREE CHILDREN, by Letty Pogregin). The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom has a beautiful 10" x 19" poster for classrooms/playrooms with wording: "no more War Toys - Disarmament Begins in the Playroom."
-- substitute "peace toys" for war toys; contact Sue Spencer, 205 E. Leeland Heights Blvd., Lehigh Acres, FL 33936, about her "Toys for Peace" group.
-- Show the film, TOYS, a silent film for young children showing war toys in store window, as child looks on they destroy each other.
-- For middle grades, it might be helpful to investigate perceptions of the military; i.e. what is a soldier, why do people want to be soldiers, why do people not want to be soldiers. Using photographic journals such as Robert Capa's IMAGES OF WAR (Paragraphic Books), and Marjorie Morris and Donald Sauers, AND/OR: ANTONYMS FOR OUR AGE (Harper and Row) bring out the human dimension and the realities of soldiering.
-- Discuss the wearing of military or "camouflage" clothing by children and find out what this means to them.
-- Note that in 1980, Sweden passed legislation banning war toys.
-- For additional suggestions, contact the Alliance for Nonviolent Action (730 Bathurst St., Toronto, Ontario, M5S 2R4) about their "Military Toys Campaign".

6. The global family: Even young children can extend this respect for life across national borders and begin to relate to others as brothers and sisters, even to peoples who are labelled by policy-makers as "enemies".
- UNICEF posters, cards, dolls, books on celebrating festivals from other countries, and the Halloween collection all promote this sense of global family (see "Global Interdepence" unit above)

-- Pen-pals and/or pictures or posters of people from other countries help. See suggestions in "US-USSR Relations" unit for sources of Russian penpals.

-- The story of SADAKO shows that it is people, especially children who are the victims of war.

"Dad, it's OK; they only kill the enemy"

This was the response of 9 year old David when questioned by his father about a whole series of US Army items (decals, bumper stickers, airborn ranger patches, a plastic carrying bag) that David had brought home from school. The father of one of his classmates had distributed the items after showing an airborn ranger film which had excited David. When questioned, David paused for a long time and then said: "Dad, it's OK, they only kill the enemy." In response to a second comment by his father, David added: "When they drop those things (bombs), they only fall on tanks."

When children have such distorted images of the reality of war, it is important to correct them but not overwhelm them. Rather than show young children graphic images of the burn victims of Hiroshima, for instance, it would be better to use a story like SADAKO, which portrays a peacemaker as much s a victim of war. This story of an 11-year-old victim who died of leukemia from radiation of the Hiroshima bomb, but not before making hundreds of paper cranes as her prayer for life and peace for the world, can be obtained from the Fellowship of Reconciliation, illustrated in a slide presentation and a 6-unit lesson plan for middle grades from the Pax Center (345 E. 9th, Erie, PA 16503) or on film entitled ONE THOUSAND CRANES: THE CHILDREN OF HIROSHIMA (24 min.,$15 rental from Macmillan Films, 34 Macquesten Parkway South, Mt. Vernon, NY 10550. Junior high students, even 5th and 6th graders, could perform the readers theater version of the story presented at the end of this book.

7. Reverence for the earth: As Chief Luther Standing Bear put it a century ago, "lack of respect for growing living things soon leads to lack of respect for humans as well. We can nurture this sense of reverence when we:
-- provide opportunities for them to experience the beauty of creation, to be still in face of it, and then to articulate these experiences in art, music, dance, poetry, etc.
-- encourage cleaning, recycling,reusing resources and the environment.

8. Other peacemakers: Exposing children to peacemakers is crucial not only for nurturing their sense of hope, but also to inspire them to action.
-- consider inviting local peacemakers to your class and/or encouraging the participation of your students and their families in local peace events.
-- share stories of other peacemakers, fictitious as well as real; see the bibliography of children's books, pp. 267-268.
-- have each child choose a famous peacemaker and do some kind of project on that person. These projects could include a collage of pictures and quotations of the peacemaker, a song or poem about the person, a letter written to the person about how the student sees her/himself as a peacemaker as well as what she/he admires in that person, what an interview with that peacemaker might sound like.

C. Myself as a Peacemaker

1. Envisioning a future of peace: Before asking students to identify specific ways in which they can be peacemakers themselves, it might be helpful to have them dream a little and try to envision their own future and the future of the world in more peaceful terms. Sustained action requires vision. Martin Luther King's "I Have a Dream" speech is an excellent resource here.

-- have students listen to his speech, identify some of his dreams, and then brainstorm their own dreams; these latter should be written on newsprint in front of class and then posted.
-- then ask students to list the different elements of their own dreams -- for their own lives, community, country, and world. These dreams could be expressed in a variety of ways -- collages, poems, song, and perhaps even symbolized (create or find a symbol that best expresses your dream).
-- The process could go another step, with the goal of coming up with a class dream, which could be a large banner entitled "WE HAVE A DREAM" on which the visual expressions of the individual dreams are pinned as well as a unified dream/vision of the class.

2. Specific peacemaking possibilities: In light of their own vision/dream, have the students identify specific ways in which they might implement this dream as peacemakers.
-- Questions might be helpful, like "when was I a peacemaker?" "When wasn't I a peacemaker?" "How can I be a peacemaker - in this class, in my home, with my friends, in my neighborhood, in the larger world?" Camy Condon's "Picture a Peacemaker" activity would be appropriate for this (as demonstrated by her on the IPJ videotape PUPPETS FOR PEACE): using an empty picture frame large enough to frame the child's head, hold the frame in front of the student framing his/her face and posing the question, "Picture a peacemaker. What peacepaker might be you? What can/will you do for peace?"

3. BUSTER AND ME: Show the videotape BUSTER AND ME. It ends with Buster trying to figure out what else he can do for peace (besides letter-writing, collecting signatures on petitions, making posters). He turns to the viewer and says: "It's for sure I can't do it by myself; I need you to help." At this point, children have been very creative in responding to Buster's plea for help.

4. Other peacemaking possibilities: Have students consider the following assorted possibilities and choose the one they want to do as their next step. Suggest that they list the various possibilities in a journal and that they write down the one they choose to do (ane perhaps how they plan to do it).
-- do a poem, picture, etc., that says what peace means to me and share this with others, including my political representatives;
-- make a collage of children from around the world, perhaps putting them on a world map and hang it in my home;
-- design, make,wear and share a peace button;
-- bring a record album of children's peace songs to class and ask my teacher to play it and talk about it with the whole class;
-- write a song, pledge or prayer for peace and share it with others;
-- rewrite a violent story I read or saw on television, giving it a peaceful ending or resolving the conflict peacefully
-- create a puppet skit showing how to resolve conflicts without fighting and share it with my class;
-- make a banner or sign for a peace demonstration and invite one or more friends and family to help; and/or to go along to the event;
-- write a letter to a manufacturer of war toys and ask them to make more peaceful toys;
-- participate in the Children's Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (see p. 275).

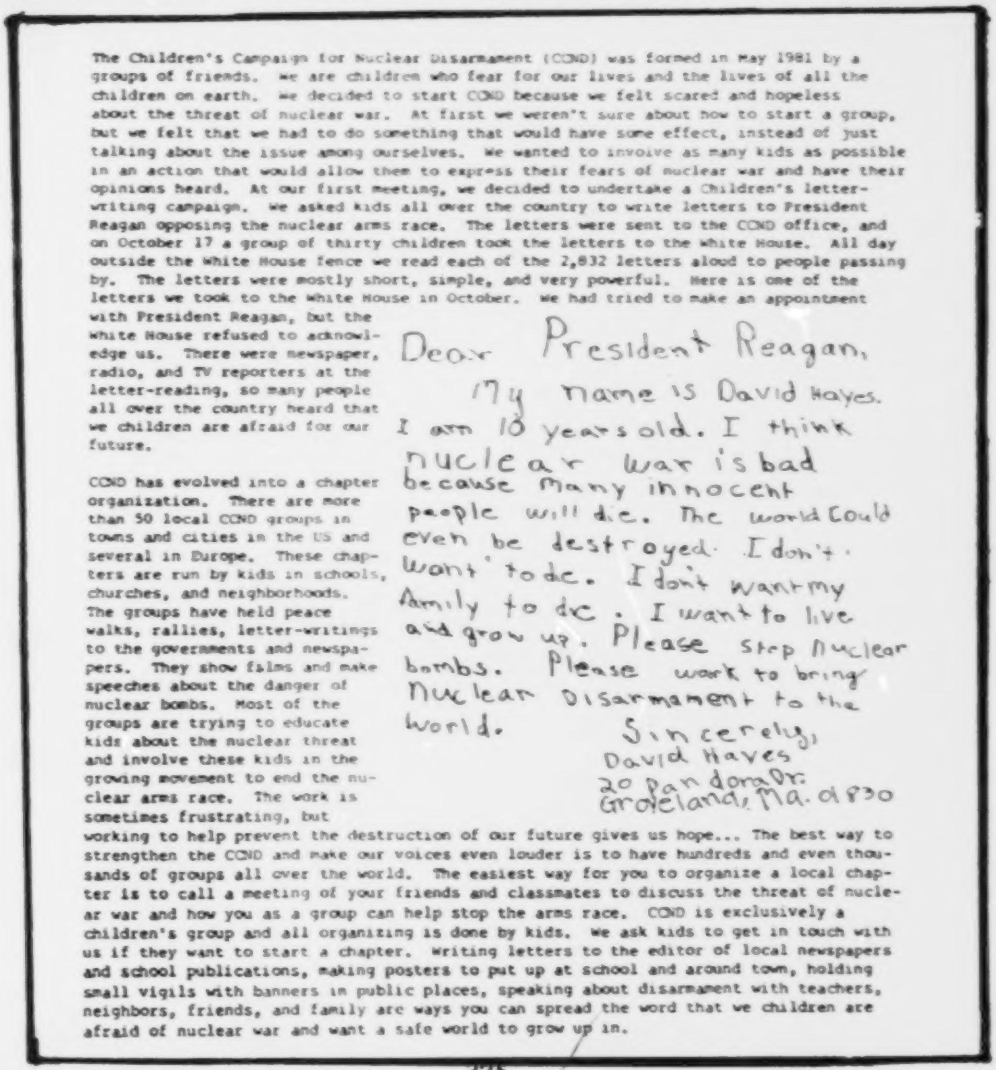
5. Possible Class Project: See if the class would like to do a whole class peace project or action, perhaps one of those suggested above or one of the following for older classes:

-- Publish a class mini-newspaper with a focus on peace and peacemaking or on a variety of social issues. This could be part or the whole focus of the paper which could be distributed to other classes, other schools/groups in the neighborhood.

-- A community art effort: A number of groups and schools have organized peace art projects, with the drawings submitted being displayed in various places (stores, libraries, schools, churches) in the community as a way of reminding others to work for peace.

- A School or community peace arts festival would expand beyond drawing and could include drama, music, dance, puppetry, mime/clowing, banner/mural making, etc. Students (and perhaps parents and other adults) would choose which art form to participate in. Workshops led by people talented in each area would be designed to create an expression of peace-making which would be presented to the total assembly at the conclusion of the workshops. THese performances could then be repeated for various other schools, or community groups. Local media should be involved as much as possible, to increase the public education impact.

-- For older middle grade and junior high students, BOMBS WILL MAKE THE RAINBOWS BREAK is a good 17-minute 16 mm film (from Films, Inc. 1213 Wilmette Ave., Wilmette, IL 60091; 800-323-4222) that tells the story of the Children's Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, (14 Everit St., New Haven, Ct 06511) described here



The Children's Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CCND) was formed in May 1981 by a groups of friends. We are children who fear for our lives and the lives of all the children on earth. We decided to start CCND because we felt scared and hopeless about the threat of nuclear war. At first we weren't sure about how to start a group, but we felt that we had to do something that would have some effect, instead of just talking about the issue among ourselves. We wanted to involve as many kids as possible in an action that would allow them to express their fears of nuclear war and have their opinions heard. At our first meeting, we decided to undertake a Children's letter-writing campaign. We asked kids all over the country to write letters to President Reagan opposing the nuclear arms race. The letters were sent to the CCND office, and on October 17 a group of thirty children took the letters to the White House. All day outside the White House fence we read each of the 2,832 letters aloud to people passing by. The letters were mostly short, simple, and very powerful. Here is one of the letters we took to the White House in October. We had tried to make an appointment with President Reagan, but the White House refused to acknowledge us. There were newspaper, radio, and TV reporters at the letter-reading, so many people all over the country heard that we children are afraid for our future.

Dear President Reagan,
My name is David Hayes. I am 10 years old. I think nuclear war is bad because many innocent people will die. The world Could even be destroyed. I don't want to die. I don't want my family to die. I want to live and grow up. Please stop nuclear bombs. Please work to bring nuclear Disarmament to the world.
Sincerely,
David Hayes
20 Pandora Dr.
Groveland, Ma. 01830

CCND has evolved into a chapter organization. There are more than 50 local CCND groups in towns and cities in the US and several in Europe. These chapters are run by kids in schools, churches, and neighborhoods. The groups have held peace walks, rallies, letter-writings to the governments and newspapers. They show films and make speeches about the danger of nuclear bombs. Most of the groups are trying to educate kids about the nuclear threat and involve these kids in the growing movement to end the nuclear arms race. The work is sometimes frustrating, but working to help prevent the destruction of our future gives us hope... The best way to strengthen the CCND and make our voices even louder is to have hundreds and even thousands of groups all over the world. The easiest way for you to organize a local chapter is to call a meeting of your friends and classmates to discuss the threat of nuclear war and how you as a group can help stop the arms race. CCND is exclusively a children's group and all organizing is done by kids. We ask kids to get in touch with us if they want to start a chapter. Writing letters to the editor of local newspapers and school publications, making posters to put up at school and around town, holding small vigils with banners in public places, speaking about disarmament with teachers, neighbors, friends, and family are ways you can spread the word that we children are afraid of nuclear war and want a safe world to grow up in.

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FOR OLDER STUDENTS (Grades 7-12)

GOALS:

To enable students to grasp some of the realities of war without at the same time being totally overwhelmed by its horror.

To see how children's attitudes toward war are shaped and what can be done to counteract that.

To help students better understand the causes of war, refute its inevitability and better understand some of the atlernatives to war as a means of resolving international conflict.

To show students a variety of ways to work for alternatives to war and encourage them to choose one or more of these ways.

I. THE REALITIES OF WAR

A. Some Preliminary Concerns

1. Images of peace and other basic concepts: It is equally important for older students to begin their study of war and alternatives with some inital clarification and expression of their own understanding of peace and to consider the possibility of nonviolent forms of conflict resolution. THe suggestions presented in the Elementary section above can be adapted for older students; see also the references to other units in this volume aknd the other volumes of this manual.

2. Patriotism: It might be important to clarify from the beginning, if this has not already been done in conjunction with an earlier unit, that it is not "unpatriotic" to examine critically the the policies of one's country and work to change them, if that seems to be called for. As pointed out in the section on "Nationalism" below, it is persons who love their country who work hard to change its policies when they come to the conclusion that those policies contradict what the country stands for (its ideals).. It is also very important that the teacher communicate a respect for the diversity of ways in which people have chosen to be patriotic and to work for peace -- that soldiers, workers in defense industries, pacifists and any other categories of people who are sometimes labelled one way or the other are spoken of with respect. The goal of peace education is not to have everyone choose the same path to peace, but to find their own path to peace and pursue it courageously.

B. Facts and Feeling about Nuclear Weapons and War

1. Hiroshima

-- Have students read "Hiroshima and Beyond" (p.300) and share their feelings about it. As a visual alternative for high school students and older, you might show THE LAST EPIDEMIC (from Impact Productions and Physicians for Social Responsibility) or IF YOU LOVE THIS PLANET (from the Canadian National Film Board; the 1982 Academy Award winning plea by Dr. Helen Caldicott to make peace our first priority) or share some of the resources on Hiroshima and Nagasaki from the special collection at the Wilmington College Peace Resource Center (see Bibliographies in Special Resources for this unit).

-- Compare the devastation of Hiroshima with the potential devastation from today's nuclear weapons by presenting the following comparisons:

    -- Each of the 408 nuclear bomb (warheads on a single Trident submarine is 5 times more powerful than the Hiroshima bomb.

-- Another way of trying to grasp this reality is presented by Jim Douglass (see the "Case Study in Nonviolence: The Tracks Campaign" below)in his book LIGHTNING EAST TO WEST:

> "To understand Trident say the word "Hiroshima." Reflect on its meaning for one second. Say and understand "Hiroshima" again. And again. And again. 2,040 times. Assuming you're able to understand HIroshima in one second, you'll be able to understand Trident in 34 minutes. That's one Trident submarine. To understand the destructive power of the whole Trident fleet, it would take you 17 hours, devoting one second to each Hiroshima."

-- One warhead in the MX missile is about 25 times more powerful than the Hiroshima bomb. Each MX missile carries 10 warheads. US plans call for 100 MX missiles. Have students calculate how many Hiroshima bombs that represents -- in 1 MX missile (250); in 100 MX missiles (25,000). To make the comparisons even more graphic, you might have students draw a single MX missiles with its warheads and put the 250 Hiroshima bombs in those warheads.

2. "Nuclear War and Your Own City": Have students read the data presented in the excerpt on p. 300 (from the Office of Technology Assessment report, THE EFFECTS OF NUCLEAR WAR, Washington, DC, 1980, and reprinted from CHOICES: A UNIT ON CONFLICT AND NUCLEAR WAR). Again before discussing the factual content, have them share their feelings about the content. SHowing the film THE LAST EPIDEMIC at this point (or recalling it, if shown previously) might be helpful, as it shows the effect of the one=megaton bomb on a map of the San Francisco Bay area. Then have students apply this data to their own city/area by providing individual maps for each student or using an overhead project and having them draw the concentric circles from "ground zero" (the point of impact) marking the zones of the effects of this one-megaton bomb. Local newspapers, peace groups, and others in a number of US cities have constructed such maps. Check and see if this is true of your community. If not, you might offer your map(s) for local publication/distribution..

3. Today's nuclear threat compared with World War II: Duplicate the page on "The Nuclear Threat" (p. 301) and have students study the "dot" chart and the data presented. Focus the class discussion on their feelings about this data.

4. "Chief Joseph and War" Have students read the selection from Chief Joseph on p.301 on the cost of war more than 100 years ago. Modern warfare has raised the stakes dramatically in terms of the numbers of people affected, but the basic truth remains -- war means death for individual human beings. Because of the massive numbers involved, sometimes the statistics can fail to have the impact that the description of individual victims can have. After soliciting students' reactions to the statement ofChief Joseph you might have them write what they think he would say today about nuclear war.

5. TESTAMENT: This 1983 major motion picture was largely overshadowed at the time of its release by THE DAY AFTER, but is is a far more

effective film for communicating the reality of nuclear war as experienced by a single family. You are much more drawn to the characters than in THE DAY AFTER and suffer with them. It is not gruesome, just profoundly moving.

6. The glamor of war: War is often perceived as exciting by young people (recall 9-year-old David's excitement with the airborn ranger film, p. above) and portrayed in glamorous ways. Besides war toys (see above), this excitement/glamor can be found in some military museums. At the National Atomic Museum in Albuquerque, NM, for instance, children have more than 50 full-sized atomic weapons with funny or attractive names such as FAT MAN and BULLPUP, HONEST JOHN, and LITTLE BOY (which destroyed Hiroshima), and DAVEY CROCKETT to pat and move their fins. They can climb into the bomb bay of a real B-52, which can deliver these bombs. Arms bazaars are another way in which the glamor of war is reinforced. Several times a year, the US Armed Forces display their most modern weapons in hotels and convention centers for buyers from around the world. Write to SOJOURNERS magazine or the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy for information about dates and locations for these arms bazaars. Having students experience either or both a museum and arms bazaar and sharing their reactions would be excellent learning opportunities.

7. Simulation - "Disarmament"

Purpose: to help students discover that you cannot win by making war, which is the conclusion that John Stoessinger comes to in his analysis of six 20th Century wars, entitled WHY NATIONS GO TO WAR.

Materials: each student needs a pencil and piece of paper, with the paper set up s follows:

NATURAL RESOURCES	ARMAMENTS
///// ///// ///// /////	

Procedures: Divide the class into groups of 5 or more students. One person serves as game director. Players may not see each other's papers. There are twenty moves in the game. At each move a player may move one natural resource to the arms pile or one arm back to thwe natural resources. (Just put line through the natural resource tally to indicate you moved it.) A player may pass and make no move. A player may not shift more than one tally during a game more.

The game director calls out "Move one" and players move or pass. "Move Two", and so on. Any player who has three arms may declare war on any other player (of course this cannot happen until the director has called move three.) The winner of the war is the person who has the most arms. He/she gains a natural resource while the loser loses a natural resource. However, both of the belligerents lose all their arms. They are wiped out and cannot be replaced. In case of a tie, if both n ations have the same number of arms, both of them lose all their arms plus one natural resource. (What is lost does not go to anyone else. It is just "X"ed off.) At the end of the game. the winner is the person(s) who has the most natural resources. Arms don't count in figuring the winner.

This is a very simple game. As one teacher wrote "I've been amazed at how many high school students enjoy it and what innovation they bring to it - negotiation alliances, one person disarming everybody for 3 moves by declaring war on the entire body (in that case I ruled that the war declarer still lost only all his arms and one natural resource while everybody else also lost all their arms and each gained only one twenty-fifth of a natural resource) and one small alliance against me because they didn't like the way I made the judgments. Since I had no arms or resources, they demanded my role as game director, which I gave them; while they were deciding what to do the rest of the group allied against them and forced a disarmament treaty."

II. THE CAUSES OF WAR

A. Introductory Activities

1. "Personal Survey on Fighting and War: Duplicate the following survey and have students fill it out. T ey might share their responses in pairs or small groups before any large group sharing.

PERSONAL SURVEY ON FIGHTING AND WAR

I. WHEN WOULD YOU FIGHT? (Check one)

___ I would fight any time my government ordered me to fight.
___ I would fight to protect the allies and friends of the United States.
___ I would fight to secure natural resources that other countries have for our use.
___ I would fight if our country were invaded.
___ I would fight if I or my family or close friends were attacked.
___ I would not fight under any circumstances.
___ I would fight if ______________________________.

II. HOW WOULD YOU FIGHT? (Check one)

___ I would be willing to use nuclear weapons in some circumstances.
___ I would be willing to use chemical and biological weapons - poison gases, food and water poisons, napalm.
___ I would be willing to use conventional (non-nuclear, non-chemical or biological) bombs, tanks, grenades, rifles, etc.
___ I would be willing to engage in hand-to-hand combat (no weapons).
___ I would be willing to use non-violent methods of resistance, such as strikes, boycotts, non-participation, etc.
___ I would not be willing to do anything to defend myself or anyone else.

(Adapted from "Where Do You Draw the Line? When, How, and Who Do You Fight? A Personal Survey" by Betty Cole, AFSC, 980 Fair Oaks Ave., Pasadena, CA 91103; April 1979).

2. Creative brainstorming: Have students brainstorm from this perspective: " If you were a person in power (e.g., a member of Congress), what factors would influence you to want to declare war?" "Would the reasons be different if you were a leader in a different country?" Perhaps this could be done in written form followed by small group discussion.

3. On the inevitability of war: Read the following statement of Sydney J. Harris to the class and ask them whether they are a "pessimist", and "optimist", or a "realist", as Harris describes them, and have them explain their choice:

> "Nuclear war is inevitable, says the pessimist;
> nuclear war is impossible, says the optimist;
> nuclear war is inevitable unless we make it impossible says the realist.

-- As a way of having students check their initial response, ask them to list and describe at least three reasons why nuclear war is more probably today then before, and then three reasons why it is less probably. Which seem to be the more telling reasons? What is your conclusion? How does it square with you initial identification of yourself as a pessimist, optimist or realist?

B. Is the Human Person the Cause of War?

1. Concept: Many people believe that war is more or less inevitable. Part of such a conviction is generally based on a certain view of human nature. War is inevitable, in this view, because the human person is violently aggressive by nature. We are wasting our time in peace education!

There are three major theories on human aggression. The instinctual theory (Robert Ardrey, THE TERRITORIAL IMPERATIVE, 1966; Konrad Lorenz, ON AGGRESSION 1969) traces human aggression to certain instincts, territorial or aggressive. It views violent aggression as inevitable and seeks less destructive channels for this aggression as the only alternative. Quite popular in recent years - possibly because it offers an excuse for not trying to eliminate violent aggression - the instinctual theory is really based on a study, more or less limited, of certain animal behavior. And it makes the largely unsubstantiated assumption that once animal behavior is explained then human behavior is also explained.

The second theory of aggression sees aggression integrally related to frustration. When a person's actions or goals are frustrated, aggression follows or is repressed only to come out in some other way or time. The third theory states that aggression is largely a matter of social learning. Some peoples or societies are quite non-aggressive in a violent sense, or others quite violently aggressive. The difference? Examine the society or culture, its values, what kinds of behaviors it reinforces (rewards) and you will find the more fundamental explanation for violent aggression. Ashley Montagu's volume MAN AND AGGRESSION, 1968, is perhaps the best explanation of this third perspective and refutation of the instinctual theory.

2. Activities

-- Literature: William Golding's LORD OF THE FLIES offers an analysis of the basis of violence as more instinctual.

-- Television: The thesis that violent aggression is largely a product of social learning may be checked by having the students list their 10 favorite television shows and the 10 most popular shows in general. Then have them examine how much violence is involved in each show. Does this say anything about our culture? Do you think these shows have any effect on our own or society's behavior?

-- Games: Have students play checkers two different ways, the normal competitive version and the cooperative version. In the cooperative version, the two players aim to change the black checkers and red checkers to opposite sides of the board at the same time. The game follows the usual checkers rules, except that there is no jumping or moving backwards. The game is won if the checkers are changed to opposite sides of the board at the same time. Ask the students which version they enjoyed more and why. If you want to develop this further, you might alternate days of the week - one day competitive games, the other day cooperative games. Do the results provide any insights into identifying cultural values and/or into the question of the social learning basis of violent aggression?

-- Video games: These offer another engaging perspective on violence and social learning. Have students identify the o=most popular video games and examine them for the amount of violence they contain. As a student action possibility, invite them to design less violent alternative video games. The "Militarism and Education" issue of the BULLETIN of the Council on Interracial

Books for Children (see above) has an excellent article on the violence of video games.

-- Sports: Have the students rank the following sports according to each of four categories. The fourth category asks the question whether the particular sport is a way of channeling human aggression into constructive alternatives or a way of reinforcing (glorifying, rewarding, encouraging further violent aggression. Rank the sports from 1 to 14, 1 meaning most, 14 least. In column 4, write "C" for channel and "R" for reinforcer. Have students analyze answers and ask whether they can draw any conclusions from their individual answers. Compute individual responses and analyze the composite in the same way.

Sport	My Favorite	US Favorite	Most Violent	Channel/Reinforcer
Professional hockey				
Swimming				
Track & Field				
Football				
Baseball				
Gymnastics				
Soccer				
Tennis				
Roller-derby				
Boxing				
Basketball				
Bullfighting				
Figure skating				
Amateur wrestling				

-- Cultures: Next, it is vital that students examine other cultures to see if there are differences in the games, entertainment, art, literature, etc., and any corresponding difference in the amount and types of violent aggression. One interesting film available at many public libraries is NOMADS OF THE JUNGLE, a 25-minute study of the family in Malaysia. The Hopi Indians (Arizona) and the Semai (see Robert Dentan, THE SEMAI: A NON-VIOLENT PEOPLE OF MALAYA, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1968) are two possible groups to study. Others include such cultures as the Zuni (New Mexico), the Eskimo, the Ifugao, the Kwakiutl, and the Dobi. How do these peoples resolve their conflicts? Examine family life, the means of punishment, the aesthetic values, competition and cooperation, education and recreation, for each of these peoples and see whether there are any links between these factors and the ways in which they resolve their conflicts.

Is it the"Macho male" who makes war?

Consider this statement of Augusta Stowe-Gullen and decide whether you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, strongly disagree and why. Is there any historical evidence to support her position? your position?

"WHEN WOMEN HAVE A VOICE IN NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, WAR WILL CEASE FOREVER."

-- Sexism: Have students read, answer and discuss the boxed quotation "Is it the macho male that makes war?" above. For possible connections between sexism or "patriarchy" and war, see the CHILDCARE SHAPES THE FUTURE filmstrips and "Military and Education" issue of Council for Interracial Books BULLETIN, the writings of Shelley Douglass ("The Tracks Campaign" below) or THE GESTALTS OF WAR by military historian Sue Mansfield, who suggests that there is an inevitable connection between warfare and sexual politics, the position of women and childrearing.

C. The Military System and the Arms Race

1. Student Essay: "How to Avoid Death and Taxes": Duplicate the essay on p. , have students read and discuss at least the first two questions at the end of the essay. Ask students to discuss whether the arms race leads to war or is a deterrent to war.

-- For more specific facts and figures on the Arms Race, see p. 223 in the unit on US-USSR Relations.

2. Possible AVs: There are a number of excellent AVs that examine the relationship between the arms race and war: See the National Directory of AV resources, Michigan Media for others.

-- WAR WITHOUT WINNERS II is an outstanding 30-minute, 16 mm, color film, produced by the Center for Defense Information. It presents vivid footage of destructiveness of nuclear weapons, analyses of present US nuclear policy by former military leaders and CIA officials, and discussions with people on the street in the US and Soviet Union. The Center has put out a "Nuclear War Prevention Kit" (What can I do?) to accompany the film, which sells for $350 and rents for $50.

-- THE RACE NOBODY WINS is a 15-minute filmstrip (or slides) narrated by Tony Randall and produced by SANE. Also excellent. Purchase $45;rent for$10.

-- JOHN, MARY MIRV AND MARV: The Arms Race and the Human Race, is a 15-minute, 100-slide/cassette presentation available from Operation Turning Point, The Institute for World Order, for $30 (purchase) or $7 (rental).

-- NO FRAMES, NO BOUNDARIES (see unit on "Global Interdependence", p. 110)

D. The Economic Causes of War

1. "The World War Game" Simulation : This simulation on p.305 below was developed by Mary Ducey, CSJ, and Mark Koke as a special project for our Institute. They used it in a number of high schools in the spring of 1980 and had great success with it. Their instructions are important for achieving maximum effectiveness in the game.

2. For economic imperialism as a cause of war, see the film, WHO INVITED US? described in the unit on "US Foreign Policy", p. 126.

E. Nationalism as a Cause of War

1. Concept

The biggest obstacle to the implementation of global approaches to building a world without war is nationalism. On a national level, it takes the form of sovereignty. National governments, like any other bureaucracies, are extremely reluctant to give up any of their power to some super-national institution. Unfortunately, or fortunately, individual nations are relatively powerless to solve the major problems confronting them - the global problems of poverty, pollution, food and energy shortages, war. Thus, sovereignty, understood as effective power, is being eroded daily by the global nature of much of reality. Hopefully, nations are beginning to recognize this, and are being forced toward a global community. Nationalism on a personal level takes the form of patriotism. In itself, patriotism is not bad, but when it becomes exclusive, just as when sovereignty becomes excessive, the "life-boat" ethic (see p.) develops. At this point, nationalism is not only an obstacle to global solutions, it also becomes part of the problem. Nationalism is thus often a cause of war.

2. Activities

-- Records: With students, and most other people as well, it is best to examine nationalism first as it relates to them, in its personal form - patriotism. You might introduce this section by playing the record "The Americans" by Byron MacGregor, and then discuss the feelings it arouses, the "facts" that are used, the accuracy of the statements, what is left out, etc. Younger students might be interested in working in small groups to formulate a letter to MacGregor in response to his song. Some of the selections from John Wayne's album "America: How I Love Her" (RCA, 1972) might be helpful in the same regard. Use more current examples as well.

-- "The Promise of America" Such a focus implies a creative understanding of the term "Patriotism". This is a patriotism that recognizes the difference between the ideals and practices of one's country and that it is committed to working hard to bring national priorities, policies and practices closer to the ideal, and our national ideal is one of all persons being created equal and endowed with certain inalienable human rights and the ideal of a nation that is truly "of the people, by the people, and for the people." (See unit on Patriotism, Vol. III for an elaboration of this view.)

What do we stand for, how have we fallen short, what can we do about it-- these are essential questions to examine thoroughly. If we as a nation want tokeep shouting "we're number 1", then we must ask ourselves what do we want to be " number 1" in. You might ask the students to make two lists, one of the areas in which they feel we as a nation are "number 1" and the other list of the areas in which they would like our nation to be "number 1". Then ask them to compare the two lists. If the two are different in some aspects, then ask them individually or in a group, to select one ormore of the items where practice does not measure up to desire or ideal, and brainstorm what would have to be done to become "number 1" in that item and whether there is anything students can do to make the "promise of America" the "reality of America". Finally, you might want to discuss whether being "number 1" is really important to them at all. If so, why? If not, why not?

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3. Propaganda: Patriotism and nationalism relate to war because people of one nation tend to look at another nation through very narrow eyes and are willing to believe the worst about "foreigners" and outsiders. Nationalism reinforced by propaganda can easily convert "foreigners" into "enemies" and then into sub-human monsters.

-- Nesbitt's TEACHING ABOUT WAR AND WAR PREVENTION offers a number of good exercises to help students see how their view of reality is influenced by their national perspective. For one, he mentions a frequently used experiment in which US middle grade students are shown a picture of a road in the Soviet Union lined with trees and then are asked why the trees are there. Such answers as "so the people won't see what's going on beyond the road" are quite different from the answers given when the students are shown the same picture but told it is a road in the United States. See also the suggestions in the unit on "US-USSR Relations" about Who is the Enemy?

-- Propaganda can often be reflected in the language used to describe weapons and war. Ask students whether they consider calling the MX missile the "Peacekeeper" a form of propaganda or not and why?

-- Use one or two of the films from the American Security Council and the Center for Defense Information (see p.282) and have students analyze them for their "propaganda" content and techniques. Have students identify what they consider to be "fact" in the film(s), what they consider to be "opinion", which opinions seem to be based more on the facts. Educators for Social Responsibility suggests stopping the film(s) several times to have students record their emotions and notice how the music, visuals, and wording work to convince them of the message.

-- Recall or use the suggestions in the "glamor of war" section above.

4. Multicultural Education: This experience points out one of the reasons why multicultural education is so important for a world without war. Building on this approach, have the students read ATLAS magazine (now entitled WORLD PRESS REVIEW, from the Stanley Foundation, 230 Park Ave., New York, NY 10017), a monthly news magazine translating lead articles from foreign newspapers and magazines. Have them compare the stands taken in ATLAS with those in the students' daily newspapers on major world and US events.

III. ALTERNATIVES TO WAR

A. Introductory Activities

1. Do, or recall, the exercise on "the inevitability of war" from Section II above.

2. An alternative for finding out students' attitudes toward the inevitability of war and the feasibility of international cooperation/organization would be to have them rate themselves (from strongly agree to strongly disagree on the following statements (perhaps these same statements could be given to the students at the end of their study of this section, to see if changes occurred):

-- most nations will take advantage of other nations if there is an opportunity to do so;

-- the issue of life or death has less meaning for people in underdeveloped countries than it does for Americans;

-- large problems, such as international control of nuclear energy, cannot be handled with treaties;

-- the US should not be so interested in pursuing a policy of limiting the arms race, but rather should be sure of being on a par with Russia and not letting Russia get more weapons than we have;

-- certain kinds of international conflict inevitably lead to war, and no diplomatic solution is possible;
-- although the original 13 colonies in North America formed a unified government, the sovereign states of the world, the US included, never need organize that sort of government to maintain order.

B . Disarmament Strategies I - "Unilateral Initiatives"

1. Concept

Such an approach might be contained in what has been called the American Initiatives Strategy. This approach looks to the US to take a leadership role in reversing the arms race and initiating a "peace race". The arms race is furthered by specific actions taken (or perceived to be taken) by one of the "runners" - the development of a new weapon or the increase in the number of weapons, soldiers, etc.; a reciprocal action then follows from other participants. The American Initiatives Strategy reverses the arms race process. In it, the US government would announce specific unilateral steps which would encourage reciprocal actions by other nations and create a climate in which further steps can be taken. The initial steps would be, in themselves, "low risk" actions, but would serve to initiate a movement counter to the arms race. For example:

-- The US could announce that it is delaying the deployment of or ceasing the development of one new weapons system, and it will discontinue another if there is a corresponding response from the Soviet Union. Or,
-- The US could determine to cut 5% from its military budget, the money to be used for agricultural development among the poorer nations; a further 5% would be cut the next year if there is a similar response from other developed nations (including the Soviet Union and China) and from oil-producing nations.

Such initiative actions are not unusual and have had positive effects. In 1963, President Kennedy announced a unilateral halt to nuclear testing in the atmosphere and declared that we would not resume as long as other nations refrained from such tests. The announcement triggered strong international pressures, and the Soviet Union soon announced a similar halt. The Limited Test Ban Treaty resulted.

But what is needed is not isolated actions, no matter how beneficial, but a carefully planned policy which clearly sets a goal of reversing the arms race and of moving toward universal and complete disarmament. As such a strategy gains momentum, other elements necessary for peace and a disarmed world (e.g., social and economic development, a system of world law, and international institutions to mediate and resolve conflicts) could be built in similar fashion. (Planning could also be done to facilitate the conversion from a military-oriented economy in our country and others.)

2. Activities

-- Students should be able to get a handle on this proposed solution by examining their own conflicts, how they escalate, and how they can be de-escalated. See the unit on "Nonviolent Conflict Resolution" in Volume I; the material in CHOICES and PERSPECTIVES by Educators for Social Responsibility.

-- Read (or recall) the pertinent parts of the student essay on "How to Avoid Death and Taxes) (pp. 302-304) for the authors's proposal for de-escalating the arms race. The discussion questions at the end of the essay would be appropriate here.

C. Disarmament Strategies II -- "A Bilateral Nuclear Freeze"

THE FREEZE PROPOSAL

To improve national and international security, the United States and the Soviet Union should stop the nuclear arms race. Specifically, they should adopt a mutual freeze on the testing, production, and deployment of nuclear weapons and of missiles and new aircraft designed primarily to deliver nuclear weapons. This is an essential, verifiable first step toward lessening the risk of nuclear war and reducing the nuclear arsenals.

1. History of the Freeze Movement

The Nuclear Weapons Freeze movement marked its beginning in 1979 when Randall Forsberg, director of the Institute for Defense and Disarmament Studies, drafted a paper, the "Call to Halt the Nuclear Arms Race". She circulated the paper to a number of well-known arms control experts, directors of national organizations, and peace groups around the US. In less than a year, some thirty national organizations and hundreds of local groups and individuals had endorsed the Freeze proposal.

In March 1981, supporters of the Freeze proposal met in Washington, DC to launch the Nuclear Freeze Campaign and to map out a three-to-five year strategy for achieving a comprehensive, bilateral freeze. Since that first conference, support for the Freeze has broadened and deepened. On June 12, 1982, close to one million people gathered in New York City calling for the US and the Soviet Union to freeze and reverse the arms race. It was the largest political demonstration in US history. In the fall of 1982, more than 11 million Americans voted on a referendum for the Freeze. 9 out of 10 states carried the referendum as well as 34 out of 37 cities and counties. It was the largest referendum vote ever held in the US. In May 1983, the US House of Representatives passed a resolution supporting the freeze proposal by a 278-149 vote -- almost a two-to-one victory. A Freeze resolution was considered soon after in the US Senate but it was tabled before a full debate could occur. The Reagan Administration opposed the Freeze proposal, arguing that the Freeze would place the US in a weak bargaining position with the Soviets.

In the summer of 1983, a large number of Freeze supporters formed "Freeze Voter "84", a political action committee designed to support pro-Freeze candidates in the 1984 congressional elections. Thousands of volunteers in every state were organized to canvass their neighborhoods, hold public forums and register new voters. In the meantime, support for the freeze movement has been growing in other countries, particularly in Great Britain where an official campaign was formed in 1983. The British Nuclear Freeze movement called for a world-wide halt to all nuclear weapons, including the nuclear arsenals in Great Britain, France and China.

2. Two Perspectives on the Freeze: Read the Point-Counterpoint on the Freeze on the following page.

Point: St. Louis Globe-Democrat Fri., Feb. 4, 1983 MARTIN L. DUGGAN Editorial Page Editor

CASE AGAINST IMMEDIATE FREEZE

National leaders of the nuclear freeze movement are meeting at St. Louis University this weekend to map their strategy for a stepped-up drive aimed at forcing the government to make an immediate freeze on all nuclear weapons official U.S. policy.

However well-intentioned they may be, the freeze movement leaders are hurting, rather than helping, the cause of peace and mutual disarmament.

Here are just some of the points wrong with the freeze approach:

— It assumes that an immediate freeze would be superior to President Reagan's proposals for a large mutual reduction in long-range ICBMs, and the "zero option" on intermediate-range nuclear missiles in Europe. The assumption is mistaken. An immediate freeze would leave present nuclear arsenals in place, and actually increase the danger by depriving the United States of the ability to restore and maintain the nuclear balance.

— It would deprive the U.S. of new weapons systems it requires to persuade the Soviets in current arms talks to join in a mutual reduction of strategic arms because a freeze would halt development of the MX missile, the B-1 bomber, Trident submarines, and deployment of Cruise and Pershing II missiles.

— It assumes that a freeze would not leave the United States at a disadvantage. This is wrong because the MX is required to restore the deterrent capability of the land-based arm of the strategic defense Triad of the U.S. This deterrence now is threatened by huge Soviet SS-18 and SS-19 missiles that could destroy more than 90 percent of the U.S. Minuteman silos.

Halting the B-1 would undermine the already diminished deterrence of the manned-bomber arm of the Triad since these new long-range bombers are needed to assure the U.S. bomber fleet's ability to penetrate Soviet air space, a capability that the existing fleet of ancient B-52s is rapidly losing.

— It assumes that Soviet leaders would be compelled by people in the Soviet Union to honor such a freeze. This "mirror image" view of the Soviet Union is fiction. Soviet leaders, not the people, make policy in the U.S.S.R. The peace and nuclear freeze movements in the Soviet Union, like all other forms of public pressure movements, have been totally suppressed.

— It assumes that the best course is to put our trust in Soviet leaders who have proven time and again they can't be trusted. As one example, they for many years have been breaking two international treaties by using biological/chemical warfare in Afghanistan and supplying their surrogates the weapons and technology to use gas warfare in Southeast Asia.

— A freeze also would rule out what may prove to be the only possible means of ending the dangerous reliance on offensive nuclear weapons and the discredited Mutual Assured Destruction doctrine: the development of a global anti-ballistic missile defense.

— It assumes Soviet officials would agree to a "verifiable" freeze. They never have and have given no indications they ever will.

For these and other valid reasons the nuclear freeze movement ought to go into cold storage or hibernation.

Counterpoint: by Robert Pashos

The Freeze is not "superior" to substantial reductions. It is rather an essential first-step towards reducing the arsenals on both (and eventually, all) sides. The Reagan administration's proposals for reductions, on the other hand, by being substantially biased in favor of a US weapons build-up, not only stand little or no chance of being accepted by the Soviets, but also would, in fact, allow for a continued deployment by the US of a whole new generation of nuclear weapons which are more dangerous than ever before. Reagan's proposals, even if accepted, would thus set the stage for another major US advance in the arms race, putting the Soviets again in the position of having to catch up, probably refusing to make any significant weapons agreements until they do.

The Administration's view that a Freeze would "deprive" the US of the ability to restore and maintain the nuclear balance is another expression of the myth inferiority about which our own Administration is attempting to persuade its citizens. The fact is, as the Pentagon itself has stated, that there is no such inferiority and inbalance, rather "a rough equality exists" (DoD Annual Report for Fiscal 1982).

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The Soviets have advantages in some areas and we have advantages in others. For example they have a greater number of land-based missiles and have a greater "throw-weight" (megatonnage) on those missiles. The US has a greater number of strategic warheads (approximately 2,000 more) and has most of its warheads based on invulnerable submarines, Soviet submarine-based missiles, furthermore, are very vulnerable (contrary to those of the US) due to the superiority of US anti-submarine warfare capability (the US has, overall, immense technological advantages--a fact Defense Secretary Casper Weinberger has acknowledged).

The Globe editorial speaks of the Freeze "depriving the US of new weapons systems it needs to persuade the Soviets in current arms talks..." Again, we see a dangerous myth being presented to the American public. Rather than such weapons systems being effective bargaining chips as the Reagan Administration would have us believe, those systems, especially when taken together, represent a significant new development in the arms race--a surging ahead again of our own country, disrupting the present balance and challenging the Soviet Union not to cower back in fear, but to push ahead themselves to again restore the balance in the game of leap-frog that the nuclear arms race has become in its 37 year history. We need a new approach.

The Globe editorial claims that the Freeze approach assumes that Soviet leaders would be compelled by the Soviet people to honor such a Freeze. We know that public pressure is very suppressed in the Soviet Union and is not enough to ensure their compliance. But there are numerous other pressures which are not suppressed, that are exerting tremendous influence on the Soviet government to accept a Freeze--and subsequent nuclear war. Harsh economic realities, considerably more severe than we face, are another such influence.

In Salt II, the US and Soviet Union agreed in their equality for the first time in 35 years. The Soviets are now in a political and psychological position to pursue a verifiable Freeze and serious reductions, no longer seeing themselves in a position of needing "to close the gap", as they rightly saw themselves for so long. Very importantly, the development of counter-force weapons is another pressure on the Soviet government to accept and honor a Freeze.

One could even point to the Soviets' good record of compliance with the 14 nuclear weapons agreements they have had with the US up to the present as further evidence for their comploying with a Freeze agreement. While other agreements have been broken, the good record for nuclear arms agreements suggests that perhaps the Soviets can be trusted in this area.

The Freeze approach, it should be pointed out, does not, however, depend on such trust. It is instead, a genuinely verifiable approach. Experts such as William Colby, former director of the CIA, and Harold Brown, former Secretary of Defense, have repeatedly testified to this verifiability of the Freeze. We don't have to "trust the Russians" when it comes to the Freeze.

3. Classroom Teaching Suggestions

-- Have students read the point-counterpoint selection above and decide which of the two perspectives they initially think makes the most sense.

-- Have someone from your local Freeze group speak to the class. If no one is available, show the slide presentation THE PEOPLE CAN (from the National Freeze Clearinghouse, 3195 S. Grand, St. Louis, MO. 63118; 314-771-6211) on the history of the Freeze, the key points in the Freeze proposal and some possibilities for action. Invite someone opposing the Freeze to speak also.

-- You might also review with the students the history of the US-USSR arms race, using the information in the unit on "US-USSR Relations" (above, p. 223) Have students discuss the Freeze supporters' claim that every time a new weapon is developed by one side, the other side follows suit. Are there any other explanations for the arms race? What does the development of "counter-force" or "first strike" weapons do to the arms race?

-- At this point, students should be prepared to debate the Freeze issue. You might see if there are students who would like to argue for some kind of third perspective on the Freeze issue (other than the two represented in the point-counterpoint above). If so, have them form a third team in the debate.

4. Action Possibilities

-- Those students who have decided to support the Freeze proposal should contact their local or state Freeze group for specific suggestions. Contact the National Nuclear Freeze Office(3195 S. Grand, St. Louis, MO. 63118) if you do not know who to contact at the local or state level.

-- Massachusetts high school students working with Students and Teachers Organized to Present Nuclear War(STOP) organized a student Freeze campaign in 1983 in which they collected 12,000 signatures on petitions to present to the Senate on the day that Senators Kennedy and Hatfield were presenting their freeze resolution to the Foreign Affairs Committee. The Student Freeze Campaign was the only group lobbying for a freeze at that critical time. A Washington freeze campaigner reported that several aides told him that their efforts made a big impression in Washington.(from PERSPECTIVES, pp. 334-335)

5. Other Resources

-- "The Freeze Sheets": A packet of nine fact sheets addressing key points of the Freeze proposal, action possibilities, information on satellite warfare and the effect of the arms race on the US economy, Available from the National Freeze Clearinghouse, 3195 South Grand, St. Louis, MO. 63118, 314-771-6211.

-- The Traprock Flip Chart: A flip chart illustrating the history of the arms race and arms control treaties between the US and the Soviet Union, technical information on the kinds and capabilities of different weapons and which country has what. It also presents information on the medical, social and economic effects of the escalating arms race. Comes with a discussion guide. Contact Traprock Peace Center, Keats Road, Deerfield, Mass. 01342, 413-624-8858.

D. Deterrence: The "Peace through Strength" Strategy

1. Concept: US national security is currently dependent on a system of deterrence, a balance of power or terror between the US and the USSR, whereby each can assure the destruction of the other("mutually assured destruction") and thus both are deterred from launching a nuclear war. In the 1960s and for most of the 1970s, US policy focused on the massive destruction of Soviet cities and industries. Beginning in the mid-1970s and officially announced in Presidential Directive #59 in 1980, US policy placed more emphasis on a "counterforce" strategy -- aiming its more and more accurate nuclear missiles at Soviet military targets. As US Secretary of Defense under President Carter put it: "Deterrence remains, as it has been historically, our fundamental strategic objective. But deterrence must restrain a far wider range of threats than just massive attacks on US cities. We seek to deter any adversary from any course of action that could lead to general nuclear war" (NEW YORK TIMES, August 21, 1980).

This policy of deterrence and the understanding of "national security" that lies behind it is succinctly expressed in the following 1982 statement from the Executive Office of the President of the US, (Pres. Reagan) excerpted from BUDGET OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT, FISCAL YEAR 1983 (Office of Management and Budget; Government Printing Office, Washington, DC, 1982).

THE PURPOSE OF NATIONAL SECURITY
DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

The basic national security objective of the United States defense program is to prevent war-particularly nuclear war. The purpose of United States national security programs is to deter other nations from threatening our vital interests as well as those of our allies and friends. This deterrence must be based on the maintenance of strategic nuclear capabilities, which make nuclear war with us an unacceptable option; maritime superiority; a strong force posture in NATO and Northeast Asia; and the ability to deploy and sustain our forces worldwide.

National Needs Statement:
-- Protect America's people, its institutions, and its lands from foreign aggression.

The Federal Role in Meeting the Need:
-- Deter any attack upon, and prevent the coercion of, the US, its allies, and friends.
-- Protect US economic interests and US citizens abroad.
-- Maintain access to critical resources.
-- Maintain, in conjunction with our allies, the military capabilities required to counter the expansion of Soviet military presence, particularly where such expansion threatens the interests of the US.

See also Pres. Reagan's speech on "US Foreign Policy", (p. 135).

2. Activities

-- Films: The American Security Council and its Coalition for Peace through Strength (499 S. Capitol St, Washington, DC 20003) has several films that present this option. THE PRICE OF PEACE AND FREEDOM, 1976, argues for increased military spending to counter growing Soviet strength. THE SALT SYNDROME is their 1979 film that challenges the SALT II Treaty. COUNTDOWN FOR AMERICA, 1982, supports increased military spending to counter growing Soviet strength and specifically challenges the strategy of a bilateral "nuclear freeze". It is narrated by Charleton Heston and serves as an excellent point--counterpoint with the Paul Newman narrated WAR WITHOUT WINNERS II film.

-- Deterrence in other situations: to help students evaluate the effectiveness of deterrence, examine together its effectiveness in other aspects of life. Has capital punishment proven effective? Or closer to home perhaps, do strict laws and harsh penalties for possession of drugs work? What about the kind of discipline in school or at home that is based on the threat of severe punishment?

-- Some questions: How secure are we? Have students evaluate paragraph #6 in the "How to Avoid Death and Taxes" essay and the following statements:

> Between 1945 and 1980, the US spent more than $2 trillion on the military and more than another $1 trillion in the first half of the 1980s. By 1979, the US could destroy every Soviet city at least 40 times (the Soviets could destroy every US city at least 17 times at that point). But we seem to be less secure than ever. The extreme accuracy of the "counterforce" weapons (Trident submarine missiles, the MX missile, the Cruise missile) means that the US can destroy the Soviet ground missiles (70% of the Soviet nuclear deterrent consists of ground missiles -- ICBMs) before they ever get out of their silos. This "first strike" capability, which the Soviets are also developing, can only "lead the Soviets to place their missiles on a hair-trigger alert, increasing the possibility of a catastrophic misunderstanding," as the NEW YORK TIMES put it. These weapon systems increase the instability of the US-USSR balance and thus of the international system itself and thus bring us closer and closer to nuclear war, despite government intentions to avoid such a war.

-- Another question: What is "National security?" Students can consider this and several related questions in a variety of ways. You might have them complete the following sentences:

- "A nation is secure when..."
- "The most important national security interests of the US are...."
- "The most important national security interests of the US should be ...."

You could then have them compare their statements/answers with the Reagan Administration's listing in the excerpt above. Have students read (or recall) the excerpts from the film YOU DON'T HAVE TO BUY WAR ANYMORE, MRS. SMITH in the unit on "The Military-Industrial Complex", in which poverty, pollution, urban decay, and the resulting despair are presented as perhaps more serious threats to US national security than the USSR. Have them evaluate this position. See the CHOICES curriculum (Lesson 6) for further suggestions.

-- A Simulation: "National Classroom Budget"

1. Both younger and older students could construct their own "national classroom budget" (NCB). The teacher should estimate the cost of supplying the entire class with sufficient educational materials (books, paper, writing materials, etc.) and also the cost of their lunches and of the maintanance on the room, furniture and equipment. That becomes their "NCB".

2. Then inform the class that they have to provide for security too. This means the cost of buying locks for the doors and bars for the windows, paying one or more classmates to stand guard during lunch hour (no one would volunteer to miss lunch) and buying them weapons like clubs and handcuffs. Know the purchase price of these items. Subtract this amount from the "NCB" and then distribute the remainder according to distribution patterns existing in this country. 20% (the wealthy) of the class gets 75% of the money; 40% (poor) get about 3% of the money; and the remaining 40% (middle class) gets about 22%. Have them decide how to spend their money - for materials, lunches, and maintenance. Also budget for broken windows. The longer the simulation lasts, the greater the conflicts between the rich and the poor will become.

3. In debriefing the game, talk about the various types of security and insecurity. The internal problems of the country (class) will probably be a greater security concern than the external threats. Because there are genuine external security threats in the real world and perhaps only relatively minor ones in a school, depending on the school, the simulation is not an exact replica of the world situation. However, it is real enough to bring home some basic realities to the students.

4. Then repeat the exercise but let the students decide how much to spend on "classroom security" and how to distribute the budget and see if they create a better situation than the first one. Such an exercise will provide insight on poverty/exploitation as a cause of war and relate the building of the world without war to the broader question of a just economic system at home and for the rest of the world.

E. The United Nations

1. Concept

If deterrence through overkill and massive military spending is not the way to prevent war, what is? There are at least several alternatives, including world law and a strong United Nations. The United Nations represents a global approach to what are truly global problems, ranging from global poverty to war and the preparation for war. And the United Nations is probably the most appropriate of all global agencies, since decision-making is more equally shared among the nations of the world in the UN than in other groups like the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. Despite its mixed record, the UN, especially a strengthened UN, still seems to be one essential, perhaps the most essential, ingredient in building a world without war.

Obviously, much has been written on the UN, and there are a number of good sources for teaching materials on the UN. Especially valuable "Teaching Materials on the UN: An Annotated Bibliography for Elementary and Secondary Schools", and TEACHING ABOUT THE UNITED NATIONS, a 45-page guide for teaching the UN in a high school curriculum, published by the United Nations Association and the National Education Association in 1981. Both resources are available from the UNA-USA. Local UNA or UNICEF offices in many cities are excellent sources of other materials -- films, greetings cards, pamphlets, books and action possibilities for students at all levels.

2. Activities

-- U Thant statement: Have the students discuss the following 1970 statement of U Thant, to see whether they agree on the need for such a global approach:

> "I do not wish to seem overdramatic, but I can only conclude from the information that is available to me... that the members of the UN have perhaps ten years left in which to subordinate their ancient quarrels and launch a global partnership to curb the arms race, to improve the human environment, to defuse the population explosion, and to supply the required momentum to development efforts. If such a global partnership is not forged within the next decade, then I very much fear that the problems I have mentioned will have reached such staggering proportions that they will be beyond our capacity to control".

Do the students think he is exaggerating? Have them ask their parents and other adults about the statement and see what reactions they get. The 10 years have now passed. Was U Thant wrong? in the short-run? in the long-run?

-- Model UN and similar role-plays: many high school and college students have participated in a "Model UN Conference" in which they play the roles of UN delegates from the various member states. The UNA-USA MODEL UN SURVIVAL KIT (1981, from the UNA-USA) contains all the material necessary to start a Model UN Group in a school and to prepare students to be delegates at the conference. The National High School Model United Nations (3 Holly St., Norwalk, CT 06151) is another source for classroom suggestions. In addition to participating in "Model UN" programs, if possible, you might hold a mock General Assembly session in your classroom on one of these questions or others: (1) the UN should control the resources of the ocean; (2) the UN and pollution problems; (3) the UN and world hunger; (4) the recognition of the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO). In so doing, students should clearly realize that the UN is more involved in social, economic and humanitarian works than it is even in peacekeeping.

-- On the Law of the Seas issue, write to the Ocean Education Project, for information and for their excellent filmstrip entitled "Common Heritage". Further, for a special high school unit on "Who Owns the Seas?", write the World Without War Council, Berkeley, CA.

-- On the peacekeeping role of the UN, write to COPRED, (see back), for the excellent publication for senior high school and college students entitled PEACMAKING.

F. World Law

1. Concept

Many people think of peace as Augustine did when he defined it as "the tranquility of order". Some "order" seems essential, though not the kind of order that repressive military or other dictatorial governments provide. If order is necessary, then some sort of world law is implied. Nesbitt's book explains one very detailed proposal for world law and effective world government - the Clark-Sohn Proposal. An introduction to this plan is available in a number of books and has been published separately by the World Without War Council and entitled WORLD PEACE THROUGH WORLD LAW.

2. Activities

-- With either this section or the previous section on he United Nations, have students discuss the two quotations below. To what extent do they agree with the statements? To what extent do they think that the goals expressed in the statements are achieveable? Within their own lifetime?

> "The Age of Nations is past. The task before us now, if we would not perish, is to build the earth."
>
> -- Pierre Teilhard de Chardin

> "We can help make the world safe for diversity. For, in the final analysis, our most basic common link is that we all inhabit this small planet. We all breathe the same air. We all cherish our children's future. And we are all mortal".
>
> -- John F. Kennedy, Commencement Address
> at American University, 1963

-- The best introduction to the necessity of world law is through the film, "THE HAT": IS THIS WAR NECESSARY?" This 18-minute animated color production is available at most public libraries. "THE HAT" explores in a delightful way the complex questions of international organization and law, the human character of the questions, and the consequences of a world without international law.

-- There already is a body of world law with which the students are probably not familiar with the exception, perhaps, of the Geneva Conventions on the laws regulating nations in wartime. Several things have been written, especially in the light of the war in Indochina, about the viability of such law. This could provide the basis for student discussion on world law in general. See the "Laws of the Seas" material mentioned above, p. 293.

-- The World Federalists USA is an organization committed to the notion of world law and the Clark-Sohn plan in particular. You might invite a representative of the organization to address your class. The World Federalists have offices/chapters in many US cities and would be a good resource on this topic. You might have the students investigate the World Federalists USA Youth Organization.

IV. WHAT CAN WE DO?

A. Can We Do Anything?

1. President Eisenhower's statement: Shortly before he died in 1969, former US President (and General) Dwight Eisenhower stated:

> "But above all, the people, I'd like to believe that the people in the long-run are going to do more to promote peace than our governments. Indeed, I think that people want peace so much that one of these days governments better get out of their way and let them have it."

He said this when protest in the US over the war in Southeast was escalating. In the middle of the 1980s, where are we? Have students discuss the following questions:

-- Is Eisenhower's statement as true, more true, or less true today than in 1969?
-- Do you believe this statement is true for the USSR?
-- How can people make or try to make governments "get out of their way"?
-- Is it different for Russians than for North Americans?

2. The "nuclear freeze" phenomenon: Ask students why they think the "nuclear freeze" movement in the US captured the imagination of so many people and whether they think this concern will increase, decrease, or remain about the same in the years ahead -- and why.

3. "How to Avoid Death and Taxes" essay: Have the students read (or recall) the essay, particularly the notion that the arms race is like a "habit". If it is a "habit", is it possible to "break the habit"? How?

4. IN THE NUCLEAR SHADOW -- the question of hope and hopelessness

IN THE NUCLEAR SHADOW: WHAT THE CHILDREN CAN TELL US (Impact Productions) is a powerful 25-minute, 16mm film and videotape for high school students and adults that presents a series of interviews with 27 young people, ages 6 to 18, on their fears and hopes about the threat of nuclear war. More than half the presentation focuses on a deep sense of hopelessness and fear, but the final part articulates these youths' growing hopefulness, primarily based on their own action involvement and being with others who are also acting for peace. This AV underlines the real urgency of this issue for adults as well as teens and needs to be discussed at length, with ample time for sharing the deep feelings it always generates in viewers. At some point, focus the discussion on the questions of hope and have participants consider some of the following questions:

-- when I think about nuclear war, what images do I have? What feelings?
-- do I expect a nuclear war before the year 2000? 1990?
-- do I expect to be alive in the year 2000? 1990?
-- what are some things that give me feelings of hopelessness?
-- what are some things that give me a sense of hope?
-- will my own action make any difference?
-- how can I deepen a sense of hope?

5. THE HUNDREDTH MONKEY BY Ken Keyes(Vision Books, 790 Commercial Ave., Coos Bay, OR 97420; $2.00) is a popular approach for helping individuals realize how their individual actions do make a difference. Their action might be like the hundredth monkey's whose action triggered the whole species' learning a new way of acting, achieving a new level of consciousness.

> "The unleased power of the atom has changed everything save our modes of thinking, and we thus drift towards unparalleded catastrophe".
>
> -- Albert Einstein

B. Envisioning a Future with Peace: Hopefully, section"C" on alternatives to war gave students a sense that peace is possible and that there is a basis for hope in the future. Hopefully, too, IN THE NUCLEAR SHADOW and other activities in this unit have reinforced that hope and deepened students' desire to act. Before considering specific peacmaking action possibilities, however, it is good to help students develop and/or articulate their own vision of the future, a vision hopefully where peace is more fully realized than it is today. Vision harnesses and enlivens and sustains action. There are many creative ways of eliciting these visions:

1. "I Have A Dream": See the suggestions in the ELEMENTARY section above (p. 273) for using Martin Luther King's "I Have A Dream" speech.

2. Newspaper stories: Have students write a series of newspaper or television news stories that present some major achievement of peace in the future (e.g., an agreement between the US and USSR to a bilateral nuclear freeze, the dismantling of all nuclear weapons under United Nations supervision, an agreement among the nations of the world to have United Nations peacekeeping forces take the place of their national armies).

-- the news story world announce and describe the achievement and some of the events that led up to the achievement over the years;
-- an editorial or commentary would provide the students an opportunity to comment personally on the achievement;

-- a feature story in the local paper or TV show would focus on themselves (in the third person) as someone locally who had worked over the years for this achievement and describe the specific actions that this person did, some of the obstacles they ran into, some of the feelings they had, etc. This story would give them opportunity to think about specific action possibilities for themselves in relationship to their vision and the future.

3. "The Arms Race - Peace Race" - Some dramatic possibilities

Present to students the major steps in the escalation of the arms race (see the chart in the unit on "US-USSR Relations") and have them brainstorm specific steps that could (will) take place in the future that reverse the arms race and turn it into a "peace race" (e.g., the nuclear freeze, a US declaration of a "no first use" of nuclear weapons policy, a US withdrawal of Cruise and Pershing missiles from Western Europe, a USSR withdrawal of their SS-20 missiles from Eastern Europe, both the US and USSRK announcing their decisions not to build certain weapon systems, etc.). Then have students brainstorm what it would take (or "took", if this is being written/considered as part events from some point of time in the future) to bring about these developments and perhaps also their own possible involvement in these developments.

All this could be dramatized as a puppet show or dramatic performance:
-- Camy Condon (235 Mezcal Circle, Albuquerque, NM 87105) has created a puppet skit on the escalation of the arms race (available directly from her). Another puppet skit of hers, STICKS AND STONES AND DRAGON, a more dramatic and less factual version of the arms race, is presented in the PUPPETS FOR PEACE guidebook and would give students creative ideas for their own possible dramatizations.

-- In PARTNERS IN PEACEMAKING, an intergenerational workshop models guidebook for teachers (from the Institute for Peace and Justice), there is a puppet skit that expands the arms race into a peace race. Junior or senior high students could present this skit or their own dramatization to younger students.

-- Have students write a story, draw or do collages, mobile, song, or skit on "How They Would Like the World to Be in 2080 A.D."

C. What Can We Do -- Suggestions from Other Units:

1. Working for economic conversion includes many different action possibilities, as described in the unit above on US and the Military, pp. 245-8.

2. Combatting militarism in schools is something every teacher and student can be part of, without leaving the school, as described in the unit on "The Military and Young People", pp. 239-243.

3. Civil disobedience is a way that a number of younger and older people have chosen to work for peace, as described in Volume I in the unit on "Civil Disobedience".

4. Tax resistance offers other possibilities, not all of which involve civil disobedience, as described in Volume III in the unit on "Peace and War and Today".

5. Draft counseling offers yet another possibility. In Volume III, the unit "Peace and War" presents a process for helping young people come to a conscientious decision with regard to military service.

6. Political action to defend human rights and challenge foreign policy options that promote war or support injustice, as in US policy toward Nicaragua, the Philippines, and El Salvador, as well as personal solidarity efforts in support of the victims of these policies are peacemaking actions. See the case studies on Nicaragua, the Philippines, and El Salvador in the units above.

7. Combatting hunger and working for a more interdependent world address some of the economic factors in war and the units above on "Hunger" and "Global Interdependence" present a wide variety of action possibilities.

8. Challenging "Cold War" attitudes and myths, as described in the unit above on"US-USSR Relations", is obviously important. A variety of people to people projects are also presented there.

D. Some "in school" possibilities

Lesson 10 in the excellent CHOICES curriculum lists a variety of school, community, and federal action possibilities. Among "school" actions, are:
-- take out an ad in the school newspaper with a list of peace concerns or advertising local peace events coming up;
-- encourage teachers in other classes to spend a class period discussing this issue;
-- organize events such as poster displays, skits, or cassettes for a school open house;
-- teach younger children within the school topics learned in this unit.
-- do a videotape on the unit and play for the school.
-- form student study groups on issues of nuclear war and its prevention. Continue to bring in clippings for the bulletin board and share information with friends.
-- have a poster display in the hall; have a poster contest.
-- have an awareness day at school. Pass out leaflets, pictures, poems, or essays on nuclear war.
-- write and perform a skit for the class or a school talent show.
-- organize an assembly on important issues pertaining to this unit. Order a film (see Appendix 1) or ask someone from the community to come to speak.
-- write an article or editorial for the school newspaper.
-- with the help of students, faculty, and school support staff, list concerns about the arms race. Have each person sign the list and mail it to state and federal policymakers.
-- design a logo or pattern for a T-shirt. Work with art department to have them silkscreened. If the class sells the shirts, send the extra money to an organization in the community that the class wants to support.

E. Adaptation of the "Elementary" Action Possibilities:

All the action possibilities described in the special section for elementary students can be done by older students, although some may need to be adapted. High school students could seriously consider forming a local chapter of the Children's Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.

F. A Case Study in Political Action: The Nuclear Freeze Campaign:

For students who came to the conclusion that the Nuclear Freeze Campaign is something they should personally support, the various action possibilities outlined there offer important political action options for them. See p. 289.

G. A Case Study in Nonviolence: The Tracks Campaign

Nonviolent action is an important alternative for students to consider. THE POWER OF THE PEOPLE, by Robert Cooney and helen Michalowski (Peace Press, Culver City, CA., 1976) provides a graphic and pictorial history of nonviolent action in American History from colonial times to the Vietnam War era. Nonviolent direct action has been used by participants in some of the most important progressive movements of this century: women's suffrage, labor organizing, civil rights, disarmament, and unrelenting work against militarism. For further information see also Gene Sharp's THE POLITICS OF NON-VIOLENT ACTION, which describes the history, methods and dynamics of non-violent actions in three volumes (from SOJOURNERS).

This case study (see pp. 309-312) presents students with several possibilities for what is called "nonviolent direct action". If your community is "on the tracks", it would be especially important to encourage those students who agree with the campaign goals and strategies to participate in the national (US) effort.

H. A Process for Decisions, Planning, and Implementation

Step 1: Deciding What to Do

Deciding on what each of us can do and should do is not always easy. This unit has suggested many different possibilities. Hopefully, one or more of these suggestions are appropriate for each of us as we try to decide what to do. For some, maybe none of these suggestions are appropriate but maybe they help stimulate other possibilities. Since none of us can do everything, try to choose one action. The following two sets of questions are designed to help evaluate all the possibilities suggested in this unit.

1. Which action(s) have the best chance of succeeding?
2. Which actions are important enough to do, whether or not they have a chance of succeeding?
3. Which actions mobilize (or have the potential to mobilize) the largest number of people?
4. Which actions put us (or come closest to putting us) in direct contact with the victims of the injustice(s)?
5. Which actions do the victims say they want other people to do?
6. Which actions involve the victims themselves in leadership positions?
7. Which actions have the greatest potential for long-term change in the practices and policies of the institution(s) involved?
8. Which actions have actual groups working on them?
9. Which actions have the best potential for surfacing links between local problems and global problems?

Having sorted through these possible actions, try to answer the following questions to help you decide which one of the actions makes the most sense for you at this point in your life--

1. Which action seems to fit best with your own concerns, knowledge, skills and time?
2. Which action is most likely to deepen and sustain your commitment to peace and justice?
3. Which action would have the best potential for generating the support of others that you feel you would need to carry it off?

Step 2: Using these questions, ask each student to choose that action that best integrates with their interests, knowledge, skills, time, etc., and that they would be willing to do in the immediate future. In order to create a supportive environment in the class for these decisions, you might have each person share his or her decision and the reasons for it with either the rest of the class or with a small group.

Step 3: Students who identify the same or similar actions might be encouraged to work together in planning, doing, and evaluating their actions. The first step here would be to work together in setting up a plan for carrying out their decision. Such a plan should address the following items(all persons should be asked to work out a concrete plan of action).

1. What further information do I need?
2. Who should I contact for information, strategies, permissions, etc?
3. Who should be working with me?
4. What obstacles are we likely to meet?
5. How can we deal with these anticipated obstacles?
6. What kind of time-line do I want to set up (that is, when should each item be done?)
7. If a group action, who is responsible for each item in the plan?
8. How and when will the action be evaluated?

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" HIROSHIMA AND BEYOND"

(The following is an eyewitness description of Hiroshima shortly after the city was destroyed by an atomic bomb in August 1945, as written by Peter Burchett, the London Daily Express, September 5, 1945, and reprinted with their permission).

"People are still dying, mysteriously and horribly - people who were uninjured in the cataclysm - from an unknown something which I can only describe as the atomic plague.

Hiroshima does not look like a bombed city ... I write these facts as dispassionately as I can, in the hope that they will act as a warning to the world. In this first testing ground of the atomic bomb .... it gives you an empty feeling in the stomach to see such man-made devastation... I could see about three miles of reddish rubble. That is all the atomic bomb left... The Police Chief of Hiroshima ... took me to hospitals where the victims of the bombs are still being treated. In these hospitals I found people who, when the bomb fell, suffered absolutely no injuries, but now are dying from the uncanny after-effects. For no apparent reason their health began to fail. They lost appetite. Their hair fell out. Bluish spots appeared on their bodies. And then bleeding began from the ears, nose and mouth.

At first, the doctors told me, they thought these were the symptoms of general debility. They gave their patients Vitamin A injections. The results were horrible. The flesh started rotting away from the hole caused by the injection of the needle. And in every case the victim died.

A peculiar odor... given off by the poisonous gas still issues from the earth soaked with radioactivity; against this the inhabitants all wear gauze masks over their mouths and noses; many thousands of people have simply vanished - the atomic heat was so great that they burned instantly to ashes - except that there were no ashes - they were vaporized".

" NUCLEAR WAR AND YOUR OWN CITY "

Most US nuclear weapons are of a 5-megaton capacity. Both the US and the USSR have 25-megaton weapons in their arsenals, and more than 10,000 megatons of nuclear weapons between them. A 1-megaton nuclear bomb exploding at about 5000 feet in good weather is estimated to do the following damage at different distances from the point of explosion:

0-2 miles-total destruction, 99 percent immediate death rate, and a crater one-fourth of a mile wide and 20 stories deep;

2-3 miles-most buildings flattened, 50 percent immediate death rate, 25 percent delayed death rate, with most survivors badly injured or burned;

3-5 miles-many building flattened and 50 percent casualty rate (killed or injured);

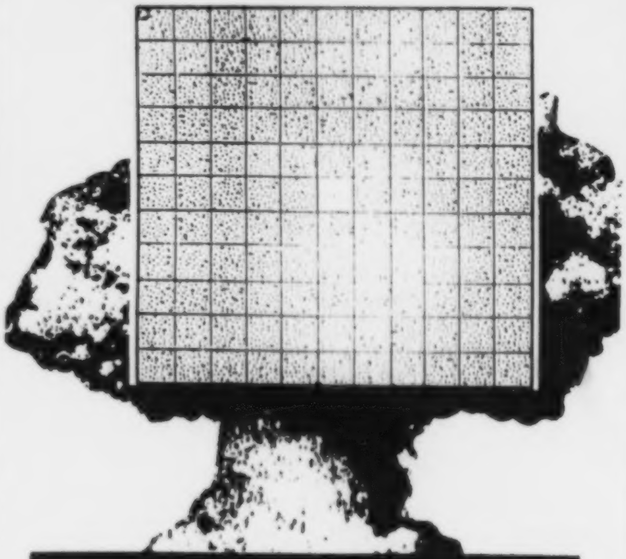
5-10 miles-most buildings damaged, 25 percent casualty rate, at least second degree burns, and many victims blinded by the flash.

Within a 10-mile radius, people would be killed by firestorms (fires caused by the blast's great heat) or by asphyxiation (suffocation) as the fires consume oxygen. Lethal radiation would spread throughout the region and would contaminate areas up to 100 miles from the blast.(From CHOICES, Union of Concerned Scientists 1983)

This same 1-megaton bomb, dropped over New York City, would probably kill 2,250,000 people immediately, seriously injure another 3,600,000, destroy all frame houses within 5 miles of the detonation point and inflict third-degree burns on those living within 8 miles of ground zero, according to a group of doctors and nuclear physicists at a special meeting (9/27/80) on the medical consequences of war. (St. Louis Post Dispatch, 9/28/80) What would this 1-megaton bomb do to your own city?

THE NUCLEAR THREAT

THE DANGER



Explosive Power

The dot in the center square represents all the firepower of World War II: three megatons. The other dots represent the number of World War II equivalents that now exist in nuclear weapons. This is 18,000 megatons, or the firepower of 6,000 World War IIs. The United States and the Soviets share this firepower with approximately equal destructive capability.

–Norwich Peace Center
Vermont, 1982

Nuclear war is a very frightening subject. So much so that for years many Americans have tried not to think about it. But think about it we must. Now, the growing movement for a mutual, verifiable U.S./Soviet freeze on nuclear weapons is providing concerned citizens with a concrete, attainable goal for preventing nuclear war and its catastrophic consequences. We must prevent nuclear war; for it is no exaggeration to say that the future of our nation and of civilization is at stake. Take a look at the facts:

- There are more than 50,000 nuclear weapons in the world. Ninety-five percent are held by the United States and Russia (U.S.: 30,000, USSR: 20,000). Their number increases every day.
- The total strength of existing nuclear weapons is equal to more than four tons of TNT for every man, woman and child on earth; the power of over 1,000,000 Hiroshima bombs.
- The flight time of a land-based intercontinental ballistic missile from firing to target is about 30 minutes. A submarine-launched ballistic missile takes even less time. Even maximum warning would give populations virtually no time to evacuate.
- The U.S. missile warning system falsely reported 151 indications of a Soviet attack in the 18 months prior to October 1980 alone. Four resulted in orders that increased the state of alert of B-52 bomber crews and strategic missile units.
- New, more complex and dangerous nuclear weapons are being developed constantly. Military and civilian planners are now speaking openly of fighting and winning nuclear wars.
- Both sides are starting a completely new arms race in the 1980's—with "launch on warning," "first strike" and "counterforce" weapons that will pull the nuclear tripwire tighter and increase the chances of a suicidal nuclear exchange.

Reprinted from THE ATA MAGAZINE, March/April, 1984, p.33, with permission.

"CHIEF JOSEPH AND WAR"

"I am tired of fighting. Our chiefs are killed... It is cold and we have no blankets. The little children are freezing to death. My people, some of them have run away to the hills and have no blankets, no food; no one knows where they are - perhaps freezing to death. I want to have time to look for my children and see how many I can find. Maybe I shall find them among the dead. Hear me, my chiefs. I am tired; my heart is sick and sad. From where the sun now stands, I will fight no more forever."

(Chief Joseph, of the Nez Perces Nation, October 5, 1877)

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"HOW TO AVOID DEATH AND TAXES"

"Many of us leave problems of peace and security to the government. But the government allows armaments to mount year after year, even though this decreases our security and prosperity. In 1945 no one could attack our shores. Now our nation's cities can be turned to ashes in one afternoon. As the arming process continues, governments throughout the world increasingly come under the influence of a military mentality. This outlook produces more and more explosive power per acre and per inhabitant of the planet and ever higher taxes to buy weapons...

War was never a good idea. But in the past we had to live with it. Now we can only live without it. Unfortunately, it is easier to follow familiar customs and old habits then to take a new direction that can make us more secure. We act a little like dinosaurs which were unable to adapt fast enough to a changing environment to avoid becoming extinct. We try to protect ourselves and our nation through military technology which threatens to destroy the species or large parts of it...

We are not secure right now. The military forces of the nation-state after the invention of nuclear weapons are like the castle after the invention of gunpowder. No matter how thick the walls centuries ago, no matter how heavy the defenses now, protection against attack is impossible. Impossible. Castles are still good for movie sets or museums, but not for defense of people. The same is increasingly true for the Pentagon.

When gunpowder brought down castle walls, castle dwellers either had to abolish war or keep the users of gunpowder farther away. In fact, they did some of both. They abolished war among feudal lords and provincial monarchs by enlarging small kingdoms into nation-states. But war continued between nation-states.

Because it wasn't abolished completely, human insecurity sharply increased with the invention of nuclear weapons. National military forces, which had replaced the castle wall, became less effective for defense. Sensing our defenselessness, we and our government have acted like die-hard castle dwellers, and thickened the walls of the defenses. Our castle walls are now 50 nuclear layers thick. That is, the United States can destroy the Soviet Union 50 times over. But the mighty Pentagon with all the king's horses and all the king's men cannot protect our homes from being totally destroyed in the next half hour.

Worse than that, to continue large military expenditures year after year decreases security. Our weapons are so effective that when other nations learn to copy them -- which they always do -- we find ourselves threatened by our own inventions. More than thirty countries can have nuclear weapons within ten years. The superpowers stockpile hundreds of new warheads annually, even though they already possess far more than required to destroy each other many times. If these weapons were fired, nobody in the Northern Hemisphere would be likely to survive. The present international system, based ultimately on the threat or use of violence, no longer works because it cannot protect us from either our own or an opponent's weapons.

Despite this fact, our planet is being militarized. Conventional arms buildups are sweeping through even the poorest countries. Six trillion dollars spent for military purposes since World War II have cut deeply into our paychecks, left half the world's people without adequate shelter or health care, half the world's children without schools or teachers, and half a billion persons with physical or mental disabilities caused by malnutrition.

Not only the poor suffer. Contrary to popular belief, military spending costs the United States over a million jobs annually compared to the employment that would be created by equal spending in the non-military sector. The military budget increases inflation and wastes vital resources. For example, the petroleum that the Department of Defense uses in one year is enough to run all the public buses in all of our cities' transit systems for twenty-two years.

If the security and economic costs of military spending are so high, why don't we change our course? We and our military rivals are both caught in a military habit. We are like addicts who turned to drugs to relieve anxiety and now need to increase the dose to feel secure. Real problems may have led to the addiction, but the habit itself becomes suicidal.

Like drug addicts, we have developed elaborate excuses -- "there will always be wars" and "you can't change human nature" -- to justify our addiction. Like junkies, we pour out our money for arms despite more pressing needs for food, housing, prevention of crime, and education. Some people encourage the habit because they make money by selling drugs or arms. By creating our dependency, pushers maintain their power. Pentagon officials spread contracts for some weapons into every Congressional district to whet Representatives' and citizens' appetites for military appropriations. Jobs, unions, corporations, and communities become locked into the military-industrial system.

Psychological dependency develops in the form of an image of an enemy -- "communists" or "capitalist imperialists" -- to justify the arms race. Driven by the military habit, many people insist on being militarily number one (either in the world or in their own region of the world) even though striving for superiority leads to international competition that produces insecurity.

Insecurity encourages the use of drugs. Similarly, the threat of aggression by another country drives us to keep up our guard. Because presently there is no dependable way to prevent governments from attacking each other, nations understandably rely on weapons. As long as there is no good substitute for armed resistance against an aggressor, nations will design, manufacture, and threaten to use armaments. The guns of vigilantes were not silent until there was sheriff in town.

If our civilization is to survive, basic changes must take place that will enable us to break the military habit -- which is the modern equivalent of the castle mentality. Until this habit is broken, certain weapons may come and go as SALT fails or succeeds, but like the addict's craving for a fix, arms buildups will always return. Only a new approach can save our cherished values...

To start the process for breaking the military habit, the United States can take the first initiatives and create incentives to convince other governments to participate. The United States can cut its military budget, suspend deployment of new weapons, and stop nuclear testing. We can safely take these initiatives this year and wait a reasonable time for the Soviet leaders to reciprocate, because our present nuclear forces exceed what will be required to offset Soviet deployments over the next several years. Such a sustained effort is needed to cut through the suspicion and habit built up during years of arms escalation...

If the United States takes the lead, Soviet officials will be likely to join this movement because it is in their self-interest. They want to avoid major war, the spread of nuclear weapons, and the economic burden of the war system. Once the process is under way, economic and diplomatic self-interest will strongly reinforce the movement to transform the war system. No plan, of course, can offer absolute guarantees against irrational behavior -- least of all the present balance of terror which requires rational behavior by both sides if we are to avoid war. Irrational behavior is to be feared, but it is more likely to be corrected by a less threatening system of world order than by present military confrontations. The influence of more peaceful members of Soviet leadership would be strengthened by the steps proposed below...

Necessary changes all come only when people like you and me join other citizens to press government officials to end the deadly war system in favor of a global peace system. We must foster attitudes and institutions that recognize the link between genuine security and a demilitarized world. If left to follow their present habits, policymakers will continue the more than thirty years of arms control discussions which have failed to stop the arms buildup. Negotiators have sought to stabilize arms rather than to eliminate dependence on weapons. Arms control efforts focus on military inequalities and often trigger new arms efforts to close or increase gaps. If a SALT agreement is reached, it will legitimize existing arms and allow the deployment of even more destructive weapons.

Diplomats fail to lead us to a more secure, demilitarized world for yet another reason. Personal prestige and power come from the warfare system which now needs to be replaced. Consequently, our leaders continue familiar policies even though they lead to disaster. Progressive change seldom comes intentionally from the top without strong pressure from below.

Once leaders in this and other countries understand that they will lose political support unless they abolish war as an accepted institution, they will do it. To accomplish this result requires only one vital but still missing ingredient: firm and responsible action by people like you. By working not merely to achieve arms control but to abolish war, you and other like-minded people can create a nonviolent world that will be able to avoid the irredeemable catastrophe of war, both now and for unborn generations."

(This pamphlet is reprinted with permission of the Institute for World Order and is an introduction to a more detailed description of practical steps to abolish war as an acceptable institution, "Toward a Dependable Peace: A Proposal for an Appropriate Security System"(58 p.). It is written by Robert C. Johansen and available from the Institute for World Order, 777 United Nations Plaza, New York, NY 10017).

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. More than two trillion (!!!) dollars has been spent on the US military since World War II. Are we more secure today as a result? Why or why not?
2. Why does the author refer to military spending as a "habit" and compare it to drug addiction? Do you think this is an accurate analogy? Why or why not?
3. Do you think it is possible to break this military habit? Why or why not?
4. Do you think the first steps offered in the article are realistic? What else do you think needs to be done?
5. Name one action or step you could take to help.
6. What obstacles make it difficult for you to take this step?
7. How could you overcome these obstacles?

"World War Game"

Purpose: to give students an opportunity to experience how maldistribution of resources is related to the decision to wage war, and how non-violent conflict resolution can be a viable alternative.

Procedure: The game is most effective when a large group of students (200 to 300) is divided into a number of nation states, with resources and arms distributed unequally to simulate the world situation. It is best done in the context of an entire day, with other speakers present to speak about, for example, global interdependence, the extent of the arms race, conditions in Third World countries, and (in religious schools) a religious perspective on these issues. This game gives the students an experience to reflect upon while digesting these topics.

Materials needed: a large room, such as a school gym, with a public address system; water balloons; double-stuffed Oreo cookies; saltine crackers; large signs around the room to indicate where countries should meet.

Time: 1½ to 2 hours

Step 1: Before the game begins, divide the student body into groups of about 20 or 25, so that there are at least eight groups, and name each group with a letter or color name. (Do not use real countries' names.) Try to make these groups as homogeneous as possible in terms of age, status in the school, and perceived ability. Also select, at random, a leader from each group.

Step 2: You must play around with figures for awhile. For each country, you must assign a certain level of resources owned, a certain minimum level of resources needed to lead a simple life, a certain maximum level of resources needed to attain an affluent lifestyle, and a certain number of bombs. Make one country very rich, one moderately affluent, several middle class, and many poor, and make sure at least one poor country has a bomb (as India does). Multiply the number of students by 2 to arrive at how many total units of resources you have to work with, because these units will be represented by the students' shoes. For example, for 200 students, 8 groups of 25.

Group	Units of Wealth	Minimum	Affluent	No. of Bombs
A	150	80	160	5
B	100	75	150	3
C	60	80	160	1
D	50	50	100	0
E	20	25	40	1
F	10	10	20	0
G	5	15	30	0
H	5	65	130	1
	400 units	400 units		

Step 3: Set up the gym as follows: assemble 8 (or the number of groups you have) chairs in a circle in the center of the room. Post large signs around the gym with the pertinent information, for example:

> A
> Has 150 shoes
> Simple: 80 shoes
> Affluent: 160 shoes

Step 4: Have the students meet in their homerooms that morning and assign their letter to them there, or give them this information in some other appropriate way. As they enter the gym, have them drop off their shoes in some central place, and assemble in their letter groups.

Step 5: Now, explain to the students that they are responsible for making decisions for their countries, and that their leaders are responsible for carrying out those decisions. Call out the names of those leaders. By this time your students should feel as if they were at a political convention or the UN, and the spirit should be very festive and competitive.

Step 6: Ask the students to note that they have been allotted a certain number of shoes. Tell them the shoes represent world resources: food, means of producing food, energy, factories, medical supplies and technology, etc. Read these allotments out loud and have the leader of each country be responsible for bringing that amount of shoes from the central pile to where that country is gathered. (A simple task, but one that gives the students a chance to see how the leader operates.) Point out that two countries are rather well off (should produce cheers!) and several are rather badly off (make some off-hand remark like "That's the way the world is - too bad!").

Step 7: Explain to the students that, due to differing populations and life-style preferences, that each country needs a different amount of shoes to lead a simple life, and point out those figures. Then explain that some may want to live in a more luxurious way, and point out those figures. Tell them that, just to make things interesting, those that attain the affluent level at the end of the game will receive double-stuffed Oreos. (Show them the cookies, and say it with enough flourish that the students cheer - advertising, you know!) Those countries that only achieve the minimum level will have to satisfy themselves with crackers, and those that drop below the minimum level must drop out of the game because they have starved to death.

Step 8: Tell each country that they have 10 minutes to decide if they want to go for Oreos, saltine crackers, or starvation. They may wish to vote, demonstrate, the leader may seize power, etc. At the end of the 10 minutes, have the leader of each country declare his or her country's intention at the microphone (amid cheers and boos!).

Step 9: Have the leaders take their places at the circle of chairs in the center of the room. Instruct them that they will have only 5 minutes of this international time to try to implement their countries' mandate. They have only 3 choices:

A. To simply give away shoes (foreign aid)
B. To beg for shoes
C. To join in common market (in which case, two or more countries become one, their totals are added, and one leader must be selected)

After this step, announce what changes, if any, have taken place, and have the leaders return to their groups.

Step 10: During the next 10 minutes, give the students the opportunity to put forward another leader. Again, they may do this however they can. (Throughout the game, attempt to suppress such activities as the taking of hostages, theft of shoes, assassination attempts, or expatriations.) Announce the new leaders.

Step 11: Give the new leaders 5 minutes of international time, as in Step 9, with the same 3 options. Announce the results.

Step 12: Introduce the water balloons. Tell the students that these are secret weapons and that if they explode a balloon in another country, they can take 50 of that country's shoes. Warn them that they can only explode a bomb at the proper time in the game, with your permission; otherwise the prize will be forfeited. Leaders may also barter with other countries to obtain bombs or shoes (Step 14). Carefully distribute the bombs to the leaders of the countries. If a bomb goes off accidently in one's own country, that country must forfeit 50 shoes, which are removed from the game.

Step 13: Give the students 10 minutes of national time to decide what policy to attempt. In addition to the options in Step 9, they may also decide to:

D. Buy a bomb
E. Sell a bomb
F. Use a bomb

Do not have the leaders announce their intentions.

Step 14: Give the student leaders 10 minutes for this international time. At the end of this time, have them announce what changes have taken place, and implement those changes (i.e., transfer of shoes, bombs, etc.).

Step 15: If any countries have decided to bomb, have the leader select a "bomber" (one to throw the balloons), have them thrown one by one, with country A going first, and transfer the shoes immediately. Collect any unused bombs. During the bombings, attempt to keep the students from avoiding the attack, since there is no way to defend oneself from a nuclear warhead. You may want to penalize anyone who runs.

Step 16: Tally up and announce the results. Reward the countries accordingly.

Step 17: Perhaps the most important part of this game is the de-briefing afterwards, not only to keep hostility down for the rest of the day, but also to help the students process the events that have taken place. You may want to have the students meet in small groups to discuss these questions; if so, vary the composition of these groups so that students from both rich and poor countries can hear each other's analysis. We have had much success with asking some questions in the large group (while they're devouring their plunder!) and then working with small groups led by faculty members. The following questions are a start:

To a poor country: How did you feel about the number of shoes you received? How did you feel about the rich country? Were you looking forward to playing the game?

To a rich country: same questions.

To countries that decided to go for the Oreos: Why? How was that decision made?

To countries that made other decisions: same questions.

To countries that chose a new leader: Why? How was that decision made?

To countries that decided to use the bomb: Why? How was that decision made?

To countries that didn't use the bomb: same questions.

To countries who were bombed: How did you feel about that?

To countries that won Oreos: How do you feel about the game? about the other countries?

To countries that won saltines: same questions.

To countries who starved: same questions.

To everyone: What could you have done to make the game turn out differently? Would you have been willing to share in order to keep another country from starving to death? to keep from bombing or being bombed? What do Oreos represent in your own life? What do saltines represent? What did you learn from this game?

CASE STUDY IN NONVIOLENCE: THE TRACKS CAMPAIGN

A. GOALS

1. To provide students with information on an aspect of the US nuclear weapons system.
2. To enable students to analyze the potential of nonviolent civil disobedience as a tactic for social change.
3. To challenge the students to consider nonviolence as a reality in their own lives.

B. HISTORY OF THE CAMPAIGN

The Ground Zero Center for Nonviolent Action begun by Jim and Shelley Douglas in 1981 is located next to the Trident Naval Base in Bangor, Washington. Their house stands on a hill overlooking the gate where railroad shipments enter the base. Jim has said that by living in such a house one could, simply by being there, begin to break through the invisibility and silence on one critical means toward nuclear holocaust: the missile shipments that travel the US by rail, analogous to the boxcars that moved unchallenged through Europe in the 40s on the way to an earlier holocaust. Out of the belief that refusing to take responsibility for the denying its existance, evil receives its power to destroy life, the Agape Community was born. Its members based themselves on agape, the love of God operating in the human heart.

The Agape community has tracked and opposed Trident missile shipments through Utah, Idaho, Oregon and Washington since 1981. Jim wrote: "As we began to claim personal responsibility for the missile motor shipments an sought to express our love for the train employees, we experienced the faith to overcome the evil which was in us and on the trains... Our growing community of faith and nonviolent action made the tracks linking us a double symbol - not only of holocaust but of hope."

On Dec. 6, 1982, an all-white armored train escorted by a security car traveling along the highways was spotted in Everett, Washington. Jim received a phone call on Dec. 8 asking if the community knew anything about this train. I said we knew nothing of such a train. It bore no resemblance to the missile motor shipments that we witnessed going into the base every week. After the phone call I walked down our front steps to the tracks. I could see signs of unusual activity across the tracks at the base gate. More security cars that I had ever seen for an arriving train were parked inside and outside the gate, waiting for something. I went back in the house, loaded our camera with slide film, and came down thesteps just in time to see the train approaching.

Perched outside the first Burlington Northern engine was a man like a film director scanning his set. After the second engine came a string of all-white heavily armored cars. Each of the two rail security cars had a high turret, like a tank's. Sandwiched between the security cars were eight middle cars, lower in height, white and armored. The letters "ATMX" stood out on them. When the final security car came opposite me, the armored flaps on the side of turret clanked open and an object was extended in my direction..."

After the arrival of this train the community members researched documents on hazardous on rail shipments obtained from the Washington Utilities and Transportation Commission. Correspondence from the Trident Base spoke of nuclear warhead shipments that would be shipped to Bangor in specially designed "ATMX" rail cars. The warhead shipments would be in DOE trains (the letters ATMX on the car stand for DOE's predecessor, the Atomic Energy Commission, and X simply means that the cars aren't owned by the railroad), arriving two to three times a year, from an unspecified location in Texas.

nuclear warheads. Given this rate of shipment along with the rate of deployment of Trident submarines, it was estimated that each train would carry between 100 and 200 hydrogen bombs, depending on the number of cars.

At this writing there are 2 Trident submarines on active patrol in the Pacific, armed with Trident-1 missiles. A third submarine is scheduled to be on patrol by the summer of 1984. All 10 Trident submarines comprising the West Coast fleet are scheduled to be based at Bangor by 1988-89. The second fleet of 10 submarines are destined for the East Coast where they will be based at Kings Bay, Georgia. As of March, 1984, 15 submarines have already been approved by Congress with funds appropriated for 14 of them. Each Trident-1 submarine carries 24 missiles with eight 100-kiloton bombs per missile.

Then in March, 1983, the White Train was met by vigilers throughout its 5-day journey to Bangor. Vigils were held in 35 different towns and cities along the tracks. Two people were arrested for approaching the train too closely in Denver, eight for kneeling on the tracks in front of it in Fort Collins, and six for attempting to sit on the tracks at the Bangor gate. Jeanne Clark was on the participants in this civil disobedience action at the Bangor gate. She said: "I believe it is important to be an obstacle in the deployment of first-strike weapons. I choose to be such an obstacle...a sign of hope. I believe with Gandhi that, non-cooperation with evil is as much a duty as cooperation with good".

John Marshall, a reporter for the Seattle Post-Intelligencer, wrote about this action in his March 23, 1983 article:

> Its whistle is blaring now, a short angry blast. And the whole train is looming into view at a speed of perhaps 10 mph that somehow seems much faster. A woman strides purposefully out of the crowd and sits down in the railroad roadbed; a Kitsap County detective deputy quickly descends upon her and tries to lift her up, a task that he is finally able to do with the assistance of another officer.
>
> A few other protestors follow her non-violent example, one at a time, making their way toward the train. Some carry signs, some carry flowers, and they manage only a few steps toward the oncoming train before the deputies subdue them...It keeps coming, closer and closer, but here are people who willingly step from the crowd and use their bodies to set an example that they can only hopr others will follow...

The Agape community contacts continued to multiply along the train routes. The next Pantex-Bangor shipment, August 13-17, 1983, succeeded in reaching Elma, WA. (70 miles outside of Bangor) before being spotted. After this incident a woman moved to Amarillo to be the full-time White Train watcher. It no longer can travel in silence and invisibility.

As of June, 1984 the White Train has been on the tracks several more times: Nov. 1983 and Feb. 1984 to Bangor; and once to Charleston, S. Carolina in May, 1984. Vigilers were along the tracks during each of these shipments. Those who vigil, those who take time off from their job, school, home believe the TRain can and will be stopped. It was successfully blocked for two and one-half hours in Portland Oregon on Feb. 24, 1984, where 200 people gathered on the tracks. Some 80 police and security officers worked to remove the protestors, only to find that once removed, they would return again, and again to the tracks. In the end, 35 people were arrested and charged with trespassing. Jim Douglass has written: "It can be stopped through education, reflection and prayerful, nonviolent direct action: prayer vigils by the traks, loving disobedience on the tracks, until there are more people on the tracks prepared to go to jail for peace than there are people to remove them or jails to contain them."

Entwined in this vision of stopping the White train is agape, transforming love, realized through prayer. The Train no longer travels alone: more and more people are praying along the tracks as its passes, more are risking themselves and choosing to be "obstacles" to its passage. Their tactic of nonviolent action/loving disobedience is based on the belief that "The means is the end in the process of becoming." (Jacques Maritain)

In Shelley Douglass' article, "The Power of Non-cooperation" (see Vol.III) she writes: "Nonviolence becomes not only a process of resisting an unjust power, but a process of resisting our own unloving impulses... we resist what we understand to be evil. The system does the evil. But the individual people who make up the system are like me, like you-combinations of good and evil, of strength and weakness... The new power of nonviolence comes from taking responsibility - first, personal responsibility for our own lives, and then our share of responsibility for the country and the systems in which we live." Taking responsibility, choosing to obstacles and symbols of hope, that is what the Tracks Campaign is about.

C. Activities

1. Films

In conjunction with this article, show the film of the civil disobedience which took place in Bangor, WA. during the arrival of the White Train, March 23, 1983. Available for rental fee of $7.00 from: Kim & Bill Wahl 9504 NE 30th, Bellwvue, WA. 98004;(206-455-1759. Order the Ground Zero newspaper to keep up-to-date on the campaign; from 16159 Clear Creek Rd. NW, Poulsbo, WA 98370;(206-692-7053.

2. Role play

Select 6-8 students to act as the local county deputies. Stress that some of them probably know some of the vigilers (neighbor, brother/sister or even a parent). Their job is to maintain order and remove anyone who approaches/reaches the tracks. Have the rest of the class stand in a line facing the tracks. These are the vigilers who have been waiting 6 hours for the White Train. They are standing outside the gate of the Trident Base; i.e. the last leg of the train's route. Select 4-8 students who will participate in civil disobedience. (These people have been meeting weekly in preparation for this action. They are believers in nonviolence and will not use any physical or verbal abuse on the officers. While waiting for the train some of the vigilers approach the officers and engage in conversation explaining why they are here. They say things like: "I believe this train is carrying nuclear warheads which threaten our future; I don't have any ill-feelings towards you - I know we're all responsible for the existence of the White Train but I cannot allow it to pass in silence". While waiting for the Train the vigilers hold hands and sing a song (e.g., Let There Be Peace on Earth; Peace Song; Be Not Afraid). While singing the second song the train comes into view. One by one those engaging in civil disobedience step out from the line and approach the tracks.

Once the role play is finished, have the students express their feelings about being an officer and arresting someone they know; or about arresting someone who they agree with. Have those who engaged in civil disobedience explain how it felt not to resist being stopped/removed from the tracks. What were the reactions of those who remained in the vigil line?

3. Discussion questions

-- What are your reactions to these attempts to halt the movement of nuclear warheads across the country? Will these actions do any good? Why or why not?

-- Of the various nonviolent actions mentioned in this article which appeals to you the most? The least and why?

-- Do you agree or disagree with Jim Douglass' analogy of the White Train and the boxcars which took millions of Jews to their deaths? Why or why not?

-- Do you agree with Jacques Maritain that "the means is the end in the process of becoming?"

D. Additional Suggestions on What You Can Do

1. Study the map to see which railroad route lies closest to where you are living now (or expect to live within the next year).

2. If your town or city is actually named on one of the railroad routes, or is within driving distance from a site named, we urge you to contact Ground Zero Center for Nonviolent Action (address given above). If you live "on the tracks" in the eastern part of the US, please contact Jubilee Partners, Box 68, Comer, GA 30629; (404-783-5000 or 783-5244. From either Ground Zero or Jubilee Partners you will be sent detailed information on the tracks campaign.

3. If you do not live near the tracks on the map but do live in the US, you are still "on the tracks" in terms of past, current or future nuclear weapons and missile shipments by rail - only a few of which have been uncovered by our research. In the more than 20 years of such rail shipments, nuclear warheads and missile parts have probably gone on tracks close to every person living in the US. Send your name and address and phone number to Ground Zero or Jubilee Partners for tracks campaign information and quick notification of future weapons shipments into your area (which we may discover only as they are happening).

4. Study the map also in relation to where friends of yours live. Make a list of the friends who live near the currently known tracks who might be interested in the tracks campaign. Send their names and addresses to Ground Zero or Jubilee Partners.

5. Make a special effort to enlist the participation and support of churches, temples and religious communities of every faith in vigils along the tracks. The tracks campaign is based on faith. It is coordinated by Ground Zero, Jubilee Partners, and the Agape Community, an extended community of people along the tracks who believe "the spiritual force capable of both changing us and stopping the arms race is that of agape: the love of God operating in human hearts."

6. Tell police and local railroad employee what you are doing and why. The tracks campaign is an open, loving appeal to us all to cease our complicity in in what we believe to be a terrible crime.

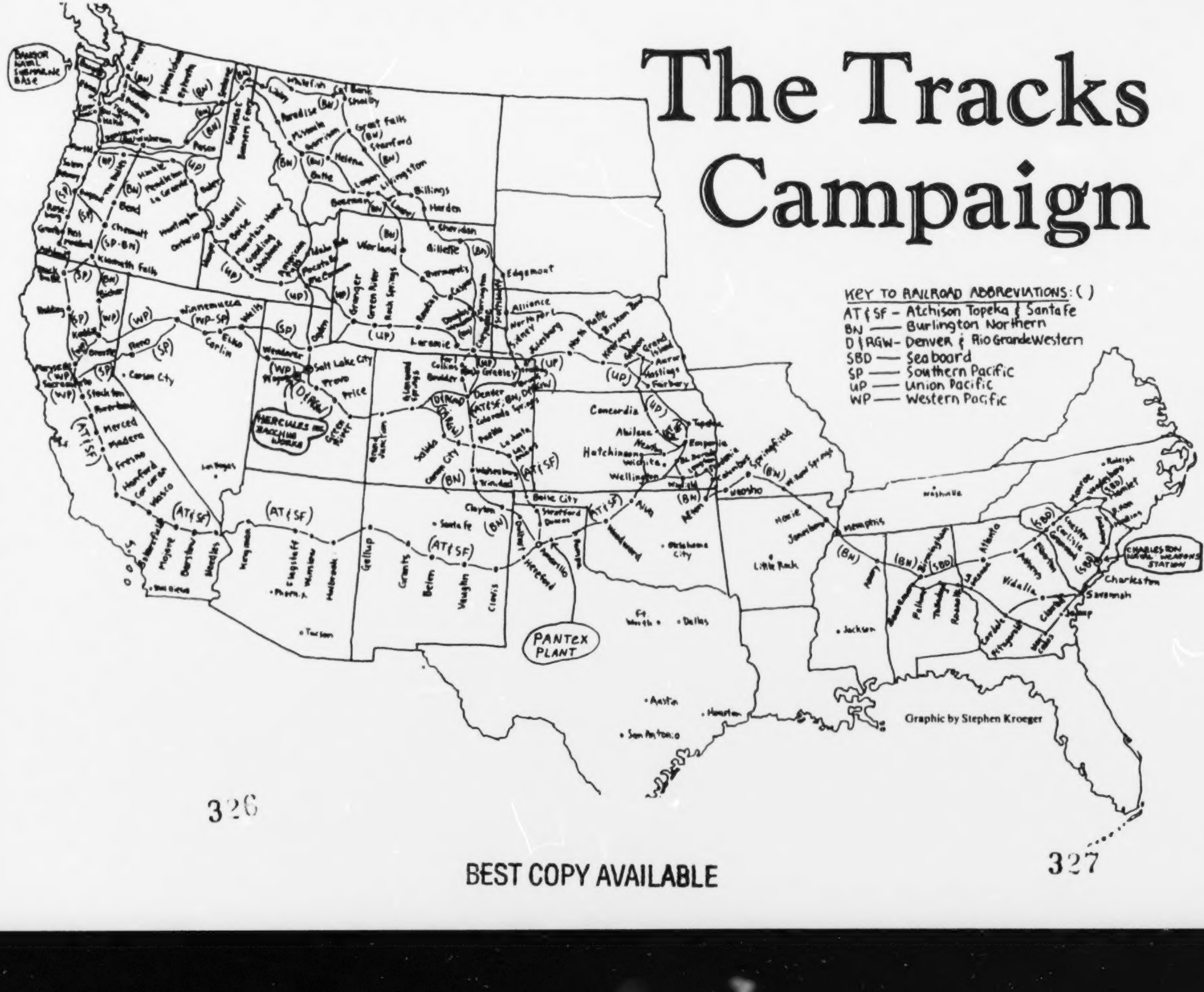
7. Share the information of the tracks campaign with local news media.

8. Work to have your town declared a Nuclear Free Zone. The Dept. of Energy has re-routed the Nuclear Train around Nuclear Free Zones declared by local governments. If there are Nuclear Free Zones on each of the White Train's possible tracks, the DOE faces the dilemma of either stopping the train or going through heavy local opposition. For more information contact: Nuclear Free America, 2521 Guilford Ave. Baltimore, MD. 21218; (301-235-3575.

Hold a retreat for those who wish to explore the possibility of loving disobedience to these shipments by sitting on the tracks. Do NOT assume the White TRain will stop for the safety of the people on the tracks. Such people risk not only jail but serious injury or death. An agenda for a retreat exploring the acceptance of such risks is available from Ground Zero.

(Note: This article's history was compiled from articles appearing in the Ground Zero newspaper and the Feb., 1984 issue of Sojourner magazine).

The Tracks Campaign



KEY TO RAILROAD ABBREVIATIONS: ( )

AT & SF – Atchison Topeka & Santa fe
BN —— Burlington Northern
D & RGW – Denver & Rio Grande Western
SBD —— Seaboard
SP —— Southern Pacific
UP —— Union Pacific
WP —— Western Pacific

Graphic by Stephen Kroeger

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

SADAKO AND THE THOUSAND PAPER CRANES

by Eleanor Coerr; adapted to readers theatre by Sharon McCormick, and condensed for use with younger children (as well as adults) by Jim McGinnis and Susan Leet.

CAST OF CHARACTERS

Narrator, who also serves as stage manager and arranges props as the script indicates.

Sadako, an 11 year old girl
Mrs. Sasaki, Sadako's mother
Mr. Sasaki, Sadako's father
Masahiro, Sadako's 14 year old brother
Chizuko, Sadako's best girl friend
Kenji, a young boy also dying of leukemia

PRODUCTION NOTES AND PHYSICAL ARRANGEMENT

This production is an attempt to lead an audience through a series of emotions such as gaiety, humor, and sorrow in order to address the issue of peace for our world. It could be used as a discussion starter with an intergenerational audience but would be appropriate for older children, teenagers, or adults as they begin to deal with the nuclear threat. Actors are to dig for sincere human emotions as they work toward this goal.

Sadako will be seated on a chaise lounge chair (lawn variety with a reclining back). As the play begins, the back will be in an upright position and the stage manager will lower the back gradually during the play to indicate the increasing weakness of Sadako. Beside Sadako's chair/bed will be a small table on which the stage manager will place a paper crane as indicated.

On the back wall at center stage will be a large slide of an atom bomb mushroom cloud, which will first appear in the prologue and remain in the background until the middle of SCENE I where one or two slides of the Hiroshima devastation could be shown as the Narrator mentions photographs of the devastated city. Then the slide would return to the mushroom cloud until SCENE IV when Chizuko hands Sadako the golden crane. In the EPILOGUE the slide will be changed to the statue of Sadako in the Hiroshima Peace Park.

The movement of characters is usually close to their chair or stool, unless otherwise indicated. Stools are best. "Off stage focus" (looking out at fixed points, not at the other characters) will be used most of the time, although an "on stage focus" might be good in SCENE IV.

When a character is not part of a scene or exits during a scene, that character turns their back to the audience and remains still on their chair or stool.

SADAKO AND THE THOUSAND PAPER CRANES

PROLOGUE:

Narrator: SADAKO AND THE THOUSAND PAPER CRANES is a story by Eleanor Coerr based on the life of Sadako, a real little girl, who lived in Japan from 1943 to 1955. She was in Hiroshima when the United States Air Force dropped an atom bomb on that city in an attempt to end World War II. Ten years later, she died as a result of radiation from the bomb. (As the word "atom bomb" is stated, the slide of the mushroom cloud appears on the back wall of the stage.) Her courage made Sadako a Heroine to children in Japan. This is her story.

SCENE I:

(As the narrator begins to read, Sadako is sitting on the lounge chair, with the back in an upright position. She begins to stretch and wake up and soon hops out of the chair.)

Narrator: Sadako was born to be a runner! Her mother always said that Sadako had learned to run before she could walk. One morning in August 1954, Sadako ran outside into the street as soon as she was dressed.

Sadako: There is not a speck of clouds in the blue sky! That is a good sign. Oh, Mother, I can hardly wait to go to the carnival. Can we please hurry with breakfast?

Mrs. Sasaki: Sadako, you are 11 years old and should know better. You must not call it a carnival. Every year on August 6, we remember those who died when the atom bomb was dropped on our city. It is a memorial day.

Mr. Sasaki: That's right, Sadako, you must show respect. Your own grandmother was killed that awful day.

Sadako: But I do respect my grandmother. I pray for her spirit every morning. It's just that I'm so happy today.

Mr. Sasaki: As a matter of fact, it's time for our prayers now. Call your 2 brothers and your sister.

Narrator: Soon Sadako's brothers -- Masahiro (age 14) and Eiji (age 6) -- sleepily appeared. Mitsue, Sadako's 9 year old sister, found her place beside her mother. As the family gathered around the little altar, their grandmother's picture was there in a gold frame.

Sadako: (looking at the ceiling) I wonder if Grandmother's spirit is floating somewhere above the altar?

Mr. Sasaki: (sternly) Sadako!

Narrator: Sadako quickly bowed her head. She fidgeted and wriggled her bare toes while Mr. Saski spoke. (everyone bowed their heads)

Mr. Sasaki: Oh honorable spirits of our ancestors, we pray for your happiness and peace. I am thankful for my honorable barbershop and for my 4 fine children. May our family be protected from the atom bomb disease called leukemia.

Narrator: To ask for protection from leukemia was a common prayer of the Sasaki family. Many still died from the disease, even though the atom bomb had been dropped on Hiroshima 9 years before. It had filled the air with radiation -- a kind of poison -- that stayed inside people for a long time. (The family slowly returns to chairs or stools.) With prayer time concluded, Sadako gulped down her breakfast, tied red bows on her braids, and ran to stand impatiently beside the door.

Mrs. Sasaki: Sadako, we aren't leaving until 7:30. You can sit quietly until it is time to go.

Sadako: All right, Mother, but please hurry!

Narrator: When the family finally started out, the air was already warm. Sadako ran ahead to the house of her best friend, Chizuko. The two had been friends since kindergarten. Sadako was sure that they would always be as close as two pine needles on the same twig. Chizuko waved and walked much too slowly toward her. (Each girl waves.)

Sadako: Don't be such a turtle! Let's hurry so we won't miss anything.

Mr. Sasaki: Sadako, go slowly in this heat!

Masahiro: Sadako is always in such a hurry to be first that she never stops to listen.

Mr. Sasaki: (laughing) Well, did you ever see her walk when she could run, hop, or jump? After all, she is a very fast and strong runner.

(Mother and father return to stand behind the chairs, with backs to the audience.)

Narrator: At the entrance to the Peace Park, people filed through the memorial building in silence. On the walls were photographs of the dead and dying in a ruined city. (Use slides of the devastated city.) The atom bomb had turned Hiroshima into a desert.

Sadako: Chizuko, hold my hand; I don't want to look at those scary pictures. (whispering) I remember the bomb. There was the flash of a million suns. Then the heat stabbed my eyes like needles. (She mimes reaching for and holding Chizuko's hand.)

Chizuko: (as she mimes reaching for and holding Sadako's hand) How can you possibly remember anything? You were only a baby then.

Sadako: Well, I do.

Narrator: After speeches by Buddhist monks and the mayor, hundreds of white doves were freed from their cages. They circled the Atomic Dome.

Sadako: Look, Chizuko! The doves look like spirits of the dead flying into the freedom of the sky.

Narrator: Then there were prayers for the dead. The day passed too quickly for Sadako and Chizuko.

Chizuko: The best part was buying and smelling the good food, especially the cotton candy!

Sadako: The worst part was seeing the people with those ugly scars.

SCENE II

Narrator: It was the beginning of autumn when Sadako rushed home with the good news. She kicked off her shoes and threw open the door with a bang. Her mother was fixing supper in the kitchen.

Sadako: Mother, I'm home. The most wonderful thing has happened! Guess what!

Mr. Sasaki: Many wonderful things happen to you, Sadako. I can't even guess.

Sadako: The big race on Field Day! I've been chosen from our class to be on the relay team. Just think, if we win, I'll be sure to get on the team in junior high school next year. And I want that more than anything else.

(Sadako lowers head and remains still; her mother and father remain still beside their chairs.)

Narrator: From that day on, Sadako practiced every day. She know that her father was very proud of her and even her brother, Masahiro, was impressed. At last the big day arrived. A crowd of parents, relatives and friends gathered at the school to watch the sports events. Sadako searched the crowd for her mother's face.

Sadako: Mother, what if my legs won't work? The members of the other team all look so much taller and stronger than my teammates.

Mrs. Sasaki: Sadako, it is natural to be a little bit afraid, but don't worry. When you get out there, you will run as fast as you can.

Narrator: At the signal to start, Sadako forgot everything but the race. When it was her turn, she ran with all the strength she had. (Sadako mimes running in slow motion.) Sadako's heart was still thumping painfully against her ribs when the race was over. It was then that she first felt strange and dizzy. She scarcely heard Masahiro cry.

Masahiro: Your team won!

Narrator: Her class surrounded Sadako, cheering and shouting. She shook her head a few times and the dizziness went away.

(Sadako returns to a chair and mimes pulling covers up over her.)

Narrator: After the race and all winter long, Sadako carried a big secret inside her. She didn't even tell Chizuko, her best friend. It worried her that each time she took a long run the dizziness returned.

SCENE III

Narrator: One crisp, cold winder day in February, Sadako was running in the school yard. Suddenly everything seemed to whirl around her and she sank to the ground.

(Sadako is sitting on the chair and falls back.) Chizuko rushed over to help.

Chizuko: Sadako, what's wrong ?

Sadako: I...I guess I'm just tired. My legs feel all wobbly and I can't stand up.

(Chizuko turns toward the back of the stage.)

(Mr. Sasaki mimes receiving a phone call.)

Narrator: Mr. Sasaki was called from his barber shop and as he and Sadako entered the Red Cross Hospital, Sadako felt a pang of fear. Part of this hospital was especially for those with the atom bomb sickness.

(Sadako and her parents sit on their chairs with concerned looks.)

Narrator: A few hours later, after X-rays, blood tests, and looking into the eyes of several questioning doctors, Sadako waited on a cot outside the doctor's office while her parents spoke with the doctor.

Mrs. Sasaki: Leukemia! But that's impossible!

Narrator: At the sound of the frightening word, Sadako put her hands over her ears. She didn't want to hear anymore. (Sadako covers her ears.)

Sadako: I can't have leukemia! The atom bomb didn't even scratch me!

(All actors turn their backs toward the wall. Stage manager lets down the back of Sadako's chair two notches, turns it to an angle and puts a table on the right side of the bed.)

SCENE IV

(Sadako begins to awaken.)

Narrator: The next morning Sadako woke up slowly. She listened for the familiar sounds of her mother making breakfast, but there were only the new and different sounds of a hospital.

Sadako: Then it is true. I thought that yesterday was just a bad dream. Father said last night that I will have to stay here for a few weeks. That means I'll miss graduation into junior high school, and even worse, I'll not be a part of the track team.

Narrator: That afternoon Chizuko was Sadako's first visitor. She smiled mysteriously as she held something behind her back.

(Chizuko climbs off the stool and mimes actions.)

Chizuko: Shut your eyes.

Sadako: What is it?

Chizuko: I've figured out a way for you to get well. Watch!

Narrator: She cut a piece of gold paper into a large square. In a short time she had folded it over and over into a beautiful crane. Sadako was puzzled.

(Chizuko mimes cutting, picks up a real paper crane.)

Sadako: But how can that paper bird make me well?

Chizuko: Don't you remember that old story about the crane? It's supposed to live for a thousand years. If a sick person folds 1,000 paper cranes, the gods will grant her wish and make her healthy again. Here's your first one.

(Chizuko extends the crane; stage menager walks over, picks up the crane and places it in Sadako's hand. The slide in the backgraound changes to the golden crane.)

Narrator: Sadako's eyes are filled with tears. How kind of Chizuko. Sadako took the golden crane and made a wish. The funniest little feeling came over her when she touched the bird.

Sadako: It must be a good sign. Thank you, Chizuko. I'll never part with it. (she puts it on the table) Show me how to make them; I've forgotten how.

Chizuko: Fold it like this, now this way...

Narrator: With Chizuko's help, she learned how to do the difficult parts. After making 10 cranes, Sadako lined them up on the table beside the golden crane.

(Both girls mime cutting and folding cranes with enthusiasm.)

Sadako: Some are a bit lopsided, but it is a beginning. Now I only have

990 to make! In a few weeks when I finish the thousand, I'll be strong enough to go home.

(Chizuko returns to her stool and Masahiro gets off his stool.)

Narrator: That evening, her brother Masahiro brought Sadako's homework from school. When he saw the cranes, he said:

Masahiro: There isn't enough room on that small table for you to show off your birds. I'll hang them from the ceiling for you.

Sadako: (teasingly) Do you promise to hang every crane I make?

Masahiro: Yes, I promise.

Sadako: That's fine! Then you'll hang the whole thousand?

Masahiro: A thousand? You're joking!

Narrator: Sadako told him the story of the cranes.

Masahiro: You tricked me! But I'll do it anyway.

Narrator: He borrowed some thread and tacks from the nurse and hung the first 10 cranes. After visiting hours it was lonely in the hospital room. So lonely that Sadako folded more cranes to keep up her courage.

Sadako: Eleven... I wish I'd get better. Twelve...I wish I'd get better.

(Pause while stage manager lowers the back of her chair/bed one notch)

SCENE V

Narrator: Gradually the atom bomb disease took away Sadako's energy. She learned about pain. At times her bones seemed to be on fire and throbbing headaches and dizzy spells sent her into deep blackness.

Mrs. Sasaki (remaining seated): Sadako is too weak to do anything but sit by the window and look longingly out at the maple tree in the courtyard. She stays there for hours, holding that golden crane in her lap. (She then lowers her head and becomes still.)

Narrator: One day a nurse wheeled Sadako out onto the porch for some sunshine. There Sadako saw Kenji for the first time. Kenji turns and sits with lap robe on legs.) He was nine and small for his age. Sadako stared at his thin face and shining dark eyes.

Sadako: Hello! I'm Sadako.

Kenji: Hello.

Narrator: Kenji answered in a low, soft voice, Soon the two were talking like old friends. (mime action) Kenji had been in the hospital for a long time, but he had few visitors. His parents were dead and he had been living with an aunt in a nearby town.

Kenji: She's so old that she comes to see me only once a week. I read most of the time. But it doesn't really matter because I'll die soon. I have leukemia from the bomb.

Sadako: But you can't have leukemia. You weren't even born then.

Kenji: That isn't important. The poison was in my mother's body and I got it from her.

Narrator: Sadako wanted so much to comfort him, but she didn't know what to say. Then she remembered the cranes.

Sadako: You can make paper cranes like I do so that a miracle can happen!

Kenji: I know about the cranes but it's too late. Even the gods can't help me.

Sadako: How do you know such things?

Kenji: I just know. You see I can read my blood count on the chart. Every day it gets worse.

Narrator: At that moment a nurse appeared and wheeled Kenji back to his room. Back in her room Sadako was thoughtful. She tried to imagine what it would be like to be ill and have no family.

Sadako: Kenji is brave, that's all. I know, I'll give him a crane made out of the prettiest paper ever and have the nurse take it across the hall to his room. Perhaps it will bring him luck. This one will do...Now I've got to fold more cranes for my flock. Three hundred and ninety-eight...three hundred and ninety-nine.

(Kenji turns back to audience.)

Narrator: One day Kenji didn't appear on the porch and the nurse came to tell Sadako that Kenji had died...Sadako turned to the wall and let the tears come...

When her father came to visit that evening, Sadako, in a voice filled with frightening wisdom asked...

Sadako: I'm going to die next, aren't I?

Narrator: Mr Sasaki spread some colored paper on Sadako's bed.

Mr Sasaki: Of course not, Sadako. Come and let me see you fold another paper crane before you go to sleep. After you finish 1,000 birds, you'll live to be an old lady.

Sadako: Oh, Father, I do want to believe you. (She mimes folding cranes.) Four hundred sixty-three...I want to be an old lady. Four hundred sixty-four...I want to be an old lady.

(Father returns to his chair; stage manager lowers the back of Sadako's chair another notch.)

SCENE VI

Narrator: Near the end of July, it was warm and sunny. Sadako seemed to be getting better. And by the next time she saw Masahiro, she exclaimed:

Sadako: I'm over halfway to 1,000 cranes and I'm feeling better. So I'd better keep the magic working and make even more cranes. Six hundred twenty-one...six hundred twenty-two.

Narrator: But by the end of the week, Sadako was pale and tired again. Her mother and father sat beside her bed as she lovingly gazed at them.

Sadako: When I die, will you put my favorite bean cakes in the altar for my spirit?

Narrator: Mrs. Sasaki could not speak. She took her daughter's hand and held it tightly.

Mr. Sasaki: Hush! That will not happen for many, many years. Don't give up now, Sadako. You have to make only a few hundred more cranes.

Narrator: The nurse entered the room to give Sadako the medicine that helped her rest. Before her eyes closed, Sadako reached out to touch the golden crane, and said:

Sadako: I will be better and someday I'll race like the wind.

Narrator: One night every one in Sadako's family came to visit her. They played word games and sang Sadako's favorite songs. Even though Sadako was in great pain, she smiled and noticed that when her parents left, they looked almost cheerful.

Sadako: It was worth the pain to see their faces so happy once again. I have been making everyone sad for so long. Before I go to sleep, I've got to fold one more paper crane. (slowly, as she mimes making another crane) Six hundred forty-four.

Narrator: It was the last crane Sadako ever made.

(Stage manager lowers the back of her chair to a flat position.)

EPILOGUE

Mr. Sasaki: (walking in front of his chair) Sadako Sasaki died on October

25, 1955. Her classmates folded three hundred fifty-six cranes so that 1,000 were buried with her. In a way she got her wish. She will live on in the hearts of people for a long time.

Mrs. Sasaki: After the funeral, her class collected Sadako's letters and published them in a book. The book was sent around Japan and soon everyone know about Sadako and her 1,000 paper cranes.

Masahiro: (walking in front of his chair) Sadako's friends began to dream of building a monument to her and all chidlren who were killed by the atom bomb. Young people throughout the country helped collect money for the project. Finally their dream came true. In 1958, the statue was unvieled in the Hiroshima Peace Park.

(Change the slide to the monument.)

Sadako: There is Sadako (she walks in front of her chair) standing on top of the monument. She is holding a golden crane in her hands (she extends her hands as if holding that crane).

Narrator: A Folded Crane Club was organized in her honor. Members still place thousands of paper cranes beneath Sadako's statue on August 6 -- Peace Day. They make a wish too. Their wish is engraved on the base of the statue:

(All members of the cast are now standing in a semi-circle in front of their chairs or stools and they say in chorus:)

This is our cry,

This is our prayer --

Peace in the World.

(pause; hold; exit)

HELPFUL ORGANIZATIONS

The following organizations are mentioned several times in this volumne and would be the most helpful in relation to the themes addressed here. There are many other organizations working for global justice and peace, many of whom are listed in this volume only once. We give their address (and in some cases phone numbers) at that point.

Alternatives
P.O. Box 429
Ellenwood, GA 30049

American Friends Service
Committee
1501 Cherry Street
Philadelphia, PA 19102

Bread for the World
802 Rhode Island Ave NE
Washington, DC 20018

California Newsreel
630 Natoma
San Francisco, CA 94103

Canadian Catholic
Organization for Development and Peace
3028 Danforth Ave.
Toronto, Ontario
M4C 1N2

Center for Concern
3700 13th St., NE
Washington, DC 20017

Center for Defense
Information
600 Maryland Ave. SW
Washington, DC 20024

Center for Global
Perspectives in Education
218 East 18th Street
New York, NY 10003

Center for International
Policy
236 Massachusetts Ave. NE
Washington, DC 20002

Center for Teaching International Relations
Graduate School of International Studies
University of Denver
Denver, CO 80120

Central Committee for
Conscientious Objectors
P.O. Box 15796
Philadelphia, PA 19103

Clergy and Laity Concerned
198 Broadway
New York, NY 10038

Coalition for a New Foreign
and Military Policy
712 G. St. SEa
Washington, DC 20003

Consortium of Peace
Research, Education and
Development (COPRED)
911 W. High St.
Urbana, Il 61801

Council on Interracial
Books for Children
1841 Broadway
New York, NY 10027

CROP
P.O. Box 968
Elkhart, IN 46514

Development Education Center
1121 Avenue Road
Toronto, Ontario, M5R 2G3,
Canada

Earthwork/Center for Rural
Studies
3838 Blaisdell Ave. S.
Minneapolis, MN 55409

Educators for Social
Responsibility
639 Massachusetts Ave.
Cambridge, MA 02139

Fellowship of Reconciliation
Box 271
Nyack, NY 10960

Foreign Policy Association
205 Lexington Avenue
New York, NY 10016

Friends Committee on
National Legislation
245 Second Street, NE
Washington, DC 20002

Global Education Associates
552 Park Avenue
East Orange, NJ 07017

Ground Zero
806 15th St. N.W.
Washington, DC 20005

Ground Zero Resource Center
P.O Box 19049
Portland, OR 97219

Icarus Films
200 Park Ave. S.
New York, NY 10003

Institute for Food and
Development Policy
1885 Mission Street
San Francisco, CA 94103

Institute for Policy
Studies
1901 Q. Street, NW
Washington, DC 20009

Institute for World Order
77 UN Plaza
New York, NY 10017

Interfaith Action for
Economic Justice
110 Maryland Ave. NE
Washington, DC 20002

Interfaith Center for
Corporate Responsibility
475 Riverside Drive
New York, NY 10027

Jane Addams Peace
Association
1213 Race Street
Philadelphia, PA 19107

Maryknoll Films
Maryknoll, NY 10545

Jobs with Peace
10 West Street
Boston, MA 02111

Movement for a New
Society
4719 Cedar Avenue
Philadelphia, PA 19143

National Action Research
on Military-Industrial
Complex (NARMIC)
1501 Cherry Street
Philadelphia, PA 19102

National Land for People
2348 North Cornelia
Fresno, CA 93711

Network
806 Rhode Island, NE
Washington, DC 20018

North American Congress
on Latin America (NACLA)
Box 57, Cathedral Station
New York, NY 10025

Oxfam-America
115 Broadway
Boston, MA 02116

Overseas Development
Council
1717 Massachusetts Ave.NW,
Washington, DC 22036

Pax Christi, USA
6337 W. Cornelia
Chicago, IL 60634

Riverside Church Disarmament Program
490 Riverside Drive
New York, NY 10027

SANE
711 G. Street, NE
Washington, DC 20003

Student-Teacher Organization to Prevent Nuclear
War
Box 232
Northfield, MA 01360

Sojourners
P.O. Box 29272
Washington, DC 20017

Third World Resources
Project
464 19th St.
Oakland, CA 94612

The United Nations
Association of the USA
300 East 42nd Street
New York, NY 10017

US Committee for UNICEF
331 East 38th Street
New York, NY 10016

WIN
Box 547
Rifton, NY 12471

Women's International
League for Peace and
Freedom
1213 Race Street
Philadelphia, PA 19107

World Education Center
and World Without War
Council
1730 Grove Street
Berkeley, CA 94709

World Without War
Council Bookstore
67 East Madison
Chicago, IL 60603

World Development Movement
Bedford Chambers,
Covent Garden
London, WC2E, 8HA,
England

World Policy Institute
777 UN Plaza
New York, NY 10017

The Institute for Peace and Justice

4144 Lindell, #400 • St. Louis, MO 63108

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